NEW TIMES

Know-how for an executioner

October 8–14, 1991

40

UK: £0.85
US: $1.40

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY

OCT 22 1991

University of North Carolina

ISSN 0206–1473

NEW TIMES

WEEKLY

Advertisement rates in *New Times*

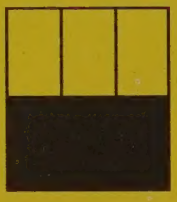
Be sure to order your advertisement campaign in advance

New Times appears in Russian, English, German, and Italian

2nd cover – $2.000
3rd cover (205x280mm), full-colour, – $2,000

4th cover (205x280), full-colour – $3.000

full-page (184x249), black-and-white, – $1,500



bottom half page (125x184), black-and-white – $750

two thirds of a page (128x249), black-and-white – $1,000

one third of a page (64x249) black-and-white, – $500

bottom page (64x184), black-and-white – $500

quarter page (128x128), black-and-white – $500.

The ways you can place your ads in *New Times:*

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ

DESIGN

Call us at 209-92-82 or contact us at Pushkinskaya Sq., GSP, Moscow 103782, USSR.
Our experts, designers, and photographers are at your service.

A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

No. 40, 1991
Founded 1945

NATION

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS *A. Yemelyanov* **PROGRAMME AFTER PROGRAMME** 4

HOT SPOTS *K. Myalo* **THE INDIAN SUMMER ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE DNIESTER RIVER** 6

OBSERVER'S VIEW *L. Bezymensky* **THE PARTY ISN'T OVER** 9

AFTER THE PUTSCH *I. Rudenko* **A SACRED MEMORY** 10

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES *A. Rotfeld* **GILDED LENIN IN A MONASTERY YARD** 12

SECURITY PROBLEMS *P. Bayev* **RUSSIA'S NUCLEAR BURDEN** 14

DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS *A. Sarkisov*
A MONARCHIST IN THE SOVIET MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX 16

WORLD

SECURITY PROBLEMS *E. Shevardnadze, G. Sidorova* **GEORGE BUSH EXTENDS AN OLIVE BRANCH. DON'T BE AFRAID TO ACCEPT IT** 18

HUMAN DIMENSION *S. Kovalyov*
THE WEST TURNS DOWN THE SOVIET DEMAND FOR CONTROL 22

ROMANIA *V. Pismarov* **WHAT NEXT?** 24

OBSERVER'S VIEW *D. Zgersky* **THE LEGENDS OF ZIONISM** 25

SOUTH AFRICA *N. Reshetnyak*
FEUD BETWEEN XHOSAS AND ZULUS, WHITES VS WHITES 26

YUGOSLAVIA *G. Sysoyev* **THE YAZOV CONNECTION** 28

CUBA *J. Mas Canosa* **"NEITHER SOCIALISM NOR DEATH"** 30

THIRD BASKET

HUMAN RIGHTS *M. Shakina* **THE INQUISITORS OF THE 20th CENTURY** 34

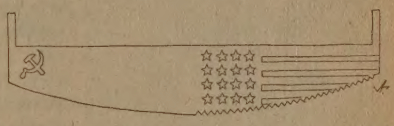
BACKSTAGE STORY *A. Morozov* **OUR MAN IN KABUL** 38

DISCUSSION FORUM *S. Soloveichik* **THE CENTENCE IS CARRIED OUT** 40

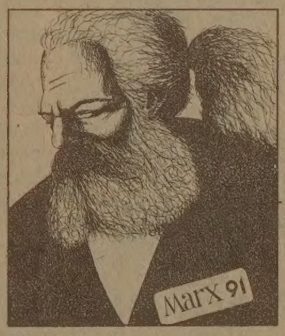
MANUSCRIPTS DO NOT BURN *N. Alekseyev* **THE RUSSIAN WESTERNISM** 46

FROM OUR MAILBAG **(2)**, PEOPLE **(4)**

Pridnestrovie: the hidden motives of confrontation
p. 6



The Americans threaten with peace
p. 18



How the country was trapped in socialism
p. 40

On the cover: a sculpture by Casto Solano (Spain). Photo by Andrei Rybakov

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief
Alexander PUMPYANSKY

Associate editors:
Lev BEZYMENSKY
Alexei BUKALOV
Vitaly GANYUSHKIN
Sergei GOLYAKOV
Vitaly IGNATENKO
Leonid MLECHIN
Marina SHAKINA
Galina SIDOROVA
Lev YELIN
Nikita ZHOLKVER

Designer
Igor SHEIN

Editor-in-Chief of English edition
Victor KAMOTSKY

We have correspondents in
Belgrade, Berlin, Bonn, Bucharest, Delhi, London, Mexico, New York, Prague, Pretoria, Rome, Sofia, Stockholm, Tokyo, Vienna, Warsaw

Founders:
***New Times* journalists**

Published in Russian, English, German, and Italian

Printed by Moskovskaya Pravda Press. Telex: 411164a newt SU, 411164b newt SU
Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92
Advertising Department: 209-92-82

© New Times

From our mailbag

■ The letter of a so-called national democrat, (thank God not a national socialist) N.Rozanov (*NT* No. 30/91), at first surprised and then worried me. There's no need to reproach the author for his style, since he is the first to admit that he studied in a school for children of average ability, though in itself this fact is not too revealing. In the post-October period self-styled orators from common people took pride in repeating "We did not graduate from academies," which in no way meant that they felt inferior to the "rotten intelligentsia."

N.Rozanov, who calls himself a Russian nationalist, and is looking for those who "dragged" Russian people "by the puss through a washboard," has completely forgotten that the 1917 revolution was carried out by the Russian people and was a Russian revolution in its essence. While the other ethnic groups oppressed by the tsar were, voluntarily or involuntarily, drawn into it. In the 70-odd years of "our triumphant marching" that followed wasn't it we who yelled at the top of out lungs: "Long live the CPSU!" "Long live the Great Russian People!" "Glory to this and Glory to that!" We were literally basking in the rays of glory until one fine day we found out that we were back where we started. There was no longer a place for the "Glory" and we began looking for. scapegoats. And the author of that letter found them: "The danger is ... that the democrats, upon coming to power, will continue Bolshevik politics." Among those guilty according to Rozanov are the ethnic groups speaking the Turkic languages. Deliverance from this burden "would make the Russian nation look to her mother – Europe." Then it will solve all its problems. This is not a new thought. One of our famous compatriots while describing his plans to rebuild Russia, spoke of the need to get rid of the "Central Asian underbelly." For Europhiles' information Russia has repeatedly turned towards Europe, but as often as not the West has misunderstood these moves, since Western Europe has considered Russia an Asian country. And even if it is so, why should we be ashamed of our Asian origin? After all, Asia is the cradle of civilization. And look at the progress made by Asian nations in the past 40 years!

Now that all our beautiful dreams about communism have been shattered once and for all there's no need to look for scapegoats, but rather we should take a better look at ourselves and think that perhaps it is our smugness, superficiality and disregard for other nations' achievements that are the source of out misfortunes.

A.Karayev,
teacher
Daghestan, USSR

■ I very much enjoyed reading the story about the light bulb from the Ryzhsky market. It seemed that this bulb even lit up

The Party has long been plotting a coup

■ Oleg Shenin, a member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, will appear in court for active personal participation in the coup which took place on August 19-21. I hope that the court will be strict and just and that the sentence will depend on Shenin's behaviour, on whether or not he will plead guilty and on his sincere remorse. But even if he voiced remorse I would never believe it. I saw with my own eyes how Shenin for a long time stubbornly and persistently prepared the leading central and local party structures for anti-constitutional actions. Here's a concrete example.

On March 12, a joint full-scale meeting of the Moscow regional committee and regional control commission of the CPSU was held. Since such a high-ranking guest as Shenin was present, some delegates asked him questions in writing, among other things why Politbureau members were not defending the party line at political meetings in Moscow. I will try to quote his answer almost exactly: "Why don't we address meetings held by so-called democrats? I don't think we should speak to crowds. I have come here not to answer your questions but to tell you about concrete plans. We are facing two tasks now. The presidential referendum in Russia on March 17 and the congress of Russian deputies on March 28. We must work hard to change the leadership of the Russian Federation. To begin with, we must do everything in our power to ruin the referendum, we must explain to the voters that it is anti-constitutional and is being pushed through by those who want to seize power. If we are serious people we will understand how to prevent Yeltsin from winning in the referendum. Such work is going on in many regions and cities, but it is not seen in the Moscow region. Why? There are a mere 1064 Russian deputies and we must work hard with each and every one of them. Somehow, most of the deputies from your region are for Yeltsin. That's where you should work! You must explain that Yeltsin's speech on March 9 was the speech of a dictator and his words are not from the vocabulary of democrats. We must hold our own meetings in defence of democracy and the Soviet power. That's where we should focus our effort, rather than ask why Polozkov is bad. And we are not talking about the power of the Party, for the destiny of our country is at stake."

Some people were enthusiastically applauding, others were puzzled. Somebody asked: "Are we plotting against the legally elected government?" He was hushed up. The report about the full-scale meeting carried by the obedient regional paper *Leninskoye Znamya* the next day did not say a word either about Shenin's speech (which is stupid) or the above-mentioned question about "plotting." A plot is a plot and one should keep mum about it for the time being.

G.N. Demovo
member of the organizing council o
the Democratic Party of Russian Communist

Is Russia an Asian country?

Once again about light bulb

"The bread you eat comes from collective farms..."

pitch-darkness. The story is about an enterprising businessman and a market innovation which could appear only here. A man is selling burnt-out bulbs for 3-5 copecks each. Why is he doing that? It's modest business for him. An explanation for the generations to come: there's a deficit of bulbs and they are not for sale. If you buy a burnt-out bulb you can easily exchange it for a good one. How and where? At work, in your doorway. All you have to do is turn out a good bulb and replace it with the old one, and the economic cycle is completed: you are the owner of a deficit item.

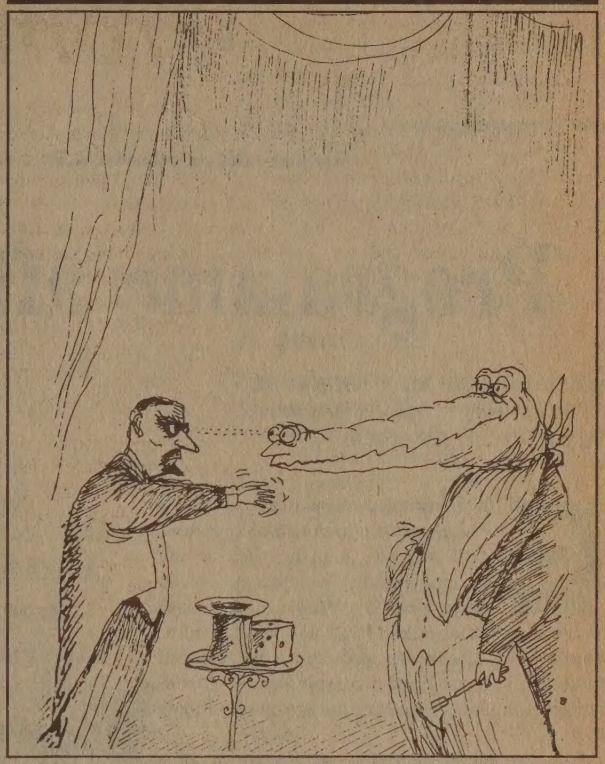
I cannot analyze all the links in this economic process: who receives the highest percentage of profit and who is the loser. What interests me is the man – the central figure of this cycle. The man who is supposed to know nothing about the essence of the market with all its attributes. It is this man who, contrary to all pessimists, outstrips all optimists and demonstrates the skill of a businessman and the resourcefulness and quick wit characteristic of the market.

Of course, he uses his quick wit to compete not with his equals, but with something faceless, strong and big – the state. And even here – in the competition of rivals with a different weight category – the man gets the upper hand. He wins by the very fact of his unexpected trick, while his rival has not yet managed to utter his only call for "cooperation": "It's forbidden!" But the state is doomed to be the loser, for the man will always outwit his rival, which will have to chase him with a club in hand in order to establish misconstrued justice.

I believe that today we've come to realize the full depth of tragedy and absurdity of our life. Let's give the man an opportunity to use his wit and enterprise in serious business.

Valentin Baginsky
Kiev, USSR

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

■ I read L. Yelin's article "Armour as a substitute for law" (*NT* No. 6/91). It's disgusting. The author apparently prefers a dictatorship of vandals and crazy meetings to legitimate government. And the communists wanted to establish a dictatorship of law!

In No. 15/91 A. Bulat, a research worker, advises us where to put monuments to Lenin. I do not need your advice! It's awful that there are so many such researchers in this country.

Your magazine (according to one of your readers) is the mouthpiece of aggressive anti-socialism and the mob. Ask any drunkard who he is for – Yeltsin or socialism. And he is sure to say that he is for Yeltsin and against socialism. And your reasoning is on the same level. Let those who are so happy for Yeltsin's sky-rocketing popularity feed on this popularity and not the bread which comes from collective farms. And let the striking miners feed on this popularity, too.

The "underground rumble," the uncontrolled element will come to the fore and perish, leaving us all to face catastrophic consequences. Until recently this "underground rumble" was restrained by people in military uniforms.

Alexei Mityurev
the Sverdlovsk Region, USSR

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

The house of Denis Davydov – to the Museum of A.S. Pushkin

■ The situation at the State Museum of A.S. Pushkin in No. 12, Prechistenka St. in Moscow can be described as critical indeed. Founded 30 years ago on the initiative of Muscovites, it has turned into a rich collection which has some 150 thousand exhibits in its funds: Pushkin's memoirs, unique documents, pictures and objects of decorative and applied arts of Pushkin's time and rare books of the 17-19th centuries. Today the museum has to be closed because the mansion of the Khrushchevs-Seleznyovs needs emergency repairs and restoration.

The only way out of this plight would be to transfer the museum to another old mansion in Prechistenka, which housed the CPSU committee of the Leninsky district. Due to its architectural and memorial value the building should be turned only into a museum. It is one of the few mansions which survived the 1812 fire. The balls and parties in the house were frequented by Pushkin. During its long life the mansion has changed owners many times. In 1835 it was bought by D.V. Davydov, a poet and hero of the war of 1812. Among his guests were E.A. Baratynsky, N.M. Yazykov and I.I. Dmitriyev. It has a suite of rooms, which is very convenient for a museum and wall-paintings dating back to the 18-19 centuries. Music parties, scientific conferences and meetings with scientists and writers could be held here. It could house the National Pushkin society, which was restored in 1990 but still has no roof over its head. If the museum receives this building it can open new expositions and exhibitions there, and what is most important, organize a safe fund.

The State A.S. Pushkin Museum is calling on the readers of *NT* magazine to support the request, addressed by the museum's staff and the National Pushkin society to the leader of Moscow, Mayor G. Popov – to give No. 17 in Prechistinka to the museum.

The staff of the A.S. Pushkin Museum

Programme after programme

Academician *Alexei Yemelyanov,*
Soviet Academy of Agricultural Sciences,
People's Deputy of the USSR

Even a simple analysis of the sources of the abortive putsch and of its lessons will suggest that they lie in the economy and in its interrelationship with politics. People's discontent with the results of *perestroika,* with the deterioration of living conditions, provided a broad social basis for the coup. Far from removing this discontent, current development trends are merely adding to it.

Any revolution in society means above all a change in the system of government and in the principles of property ownership. The Soviet leaders, including Mikhail Gorbachev, wanted the situation to change for the better – provided, however, that the basis of their power remained the same. This explains why we have made no progress at all over the six years of *perestroika.*

Spring and summer of this year have become a turning point. Property privatization and efforts towards the Union Treaty undermined the former system. The rug was pulled out from under the feet of the unitarian centre with its irresponsible power structure. The leaders who attempted the putsch knew – it was now or never.

Our economic mess is not so much the inheritance of the stagnation period as the aftermath of the *perestroika* years

Fetishization of programmes

What the situation in the country is like today is common knowledge: reduction of growth rate, galloping inflation, the failure of the food and consumer market. All this has been caused not only, and not so much, by the hard heritage of the stagnation period, but, above all, by the policy pursued over the *perestroika* years. Soviet leaders have always given precedence to words over deeds. Six to seven programmes were advanced in some eighteen months. As soon as public opinion and the deputies begin to voice their discontent over the futility of the government's work and to corner the leaders, the latter immediately resort to a tested method: they say that they have sized up the problems, see the ways to solve them and – suggest a programme. Social tension abates for a while as a result. Then comes another programme, without the previous ones analyzed or those responsible for carrying them out called to account. This is probably a manifestation of the traditional tendency to make a fetish out of various resolutions and decisions. Divorced from real life, the leaders are accustomed to assessing the results of their activity not by end results, but by formal bureaucratic criteria such as the number of conferences and sessions held and resolutions adopted. They seek a way out of a messy situation not in appropriate action, but in holding another session or another conference, in adopting another resolution. This amounts to the deification of paper programmes. On the other hand, this is not merely a delusion inherited from the past, but deliberate "brainwashing."

Collage from the newspaper Zeit (Germany)

All the previous economic programmes have been general, declarative, divorced from life, academic, copied from Western ones. Even the classical programmes of the Western countries which have allowed them to restructure their economies are largely inapplicable to Soviet conditions. After all, none of the Western countries has gone through 74 years of barracks-type socialism. No system has ever distorted human souls and exterminated the spirit of free enterprise the way the Soviet system has. Therefore even the Polish programme for the implementing a free market cannot be transferred to other soil. At the same time there are no solutions to the simplest burning questions, and the reserves lying practically on the surface are not made use of.

At the present juncture, the stabilization of the economy depends on the solution of many problems. The first one is that of the republics' relations with the centre and among themselves which have an effect on economic links. The second is the revision of the structural policy. The third is privatization.

The formation of a new state system goes beyond the framework of the economy but directly affects it. Economic links between the republics are very close. A rupture of a link in one chain disorganizes whole units of the national economy.

The putsch untied the republics' hands. They rushed for state independence. They sought to distance themselves not only from

the former centre (which is actually no more) but from the rising Russia. A renewed federation is now out of the question. Each republic can enter the confederation in accordance with its separate rules. In our interrelationships with the republics we must show more tact, readiness for compromise and accord than ever. Any careless move, like the statement on territorial claims, can cause opposition. And this adds to the economic disharmony which hits the economies of all the republics hard.

The answer to the stabilization of the country's economy lies in its restructuring. The situation can be improved chiefly through reducing the losses in farm output. These losses are high indeed and probably amount to 30-40 percent (no accurate statistics are available). We are losing more produce than we import. Nevertheless, our imports cost us an average of 20-23 billion dollars a year. The official rate of exchange is 30 or even 50 rubles for US dollar. Simple arithmetic will show the cost of our farm produce and food import. And here is another tangible dimension. Imagine that we have spent this hard currency on consumer goods, radios, VCRs, computers, etc. Even at the state prices of the turn of the 1990s, one dollar turned over 15-20 rubles. It is easy to figure the sum people could spend buying goods they need, the way to reduce non-balanced money accumulations, and strengthen the ruble. Even at the prices of those years this gives 300-400 billion rubles in extra turnover. At the present prices the figure is even higher. Let me remind you, for comparison's sake, that the public now has on its savings accounts about 400 billion rubles and hoards an estimated 150 billion.

The investment complex may become a large-scale source of economic consolidation. It involves over 400 billion rubles and critical material and technical resources behind them. In the meantime, the volume of unfinished construction projects is growing from year to year. It is about time to curtail the military-industrial complex which chokes the economy, absorbs enormous and best resources.

AgroGULAG

Privatization is high on the agendas of all the programmes. These measures are supposed to turn the people from labourers to masters. The approach to these problems highlights our economists' being out of touch with realities and their desire to mechanically build the Western experience into the Soviet economic model. I do not mean the programmes drafted by the party and state structures – as usual such problems as privatization were carefully downplayed there so as to preserve the old forms of ownership and power. I mean the 500-days programme and other programmes offered by radical economists.

Painstaking preparatory work is often replaced by declarations. Privatization processes are painful socially, of course. A great deal of effort is required to difuse inevitable social tension. It is important, in particular, to inventory all the economic objects and to decide, with the specific features of each taken into account, which should be privatized and which made the property of work collectives in some form. It is necessary to determine the objective cost of each object lest the leaders in charge should "line their pockets." It is also necessary to size up those prepared to buy these

objects, and to ascertain the sources of their incomes. Unfortunately, little is being done in this respect, and therefore this process is discredited in the eyes of ordinary people.

In particular, the programmes suggest that a third or more unprofitable collective and state farms be closed down overnight. But you can close down and declare bankrupt only the enterprise owned by a person who makes his own decisions. The collective and state farms have been reduced to their present condition by the state. Is it fair to shift the blame to the villagers who have always been ruthlessly exploited by the party and state oligarchy? Nor is it fair to impose land and family farms on the peasant. That would amount to violence comparable with collectivization, only with the opposite sign. Under no circumstances should a peasant be told what kind of farming suits him best. He should be free to make his own decisions. The reality is such that three generations of peasants have gone through the collective- and state-farm AgroGULAG. Not all of them are prepared to change their way of life. They are not to be blamed, but rather pitied for that. Therefore while promoting family farming in every way we ought to cardinally restructure collective and state farms so that their members will be their own masters, rather than serfs.

The glitter and poverty of democrats

The democrats have shown what they can do in political discussions. However, when in real power or on the approaches to it, they proved unable – or, for that matter, unwilling – to deal with specific practical problems. More often than not the mistakes were attributed to the obtrusive centre, to a short term in office, to the democrats wielding only legislative power, with executive power kept by the "bureaucratic upper crust" as always. Today all these factors are gone. Therefore, democracy and the democrats will inevitably be blamed for all our economic troubles.

After the abortive putsch, the alignment of political forces has changed entirely. Previously, politicized regions were sharply divided into the CPSU and its organizations on the one hand, and the democrats on the other. The anti-CPSU trend largely brought disjointed democratic forces together. Now this factor has been weakened. The differences within the democratic front as such have been intensified. The democratic leaders of Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg, now in office, have cardinally revised the power structure. They seek to strengthen executive power. What does that amount to? The role of representative and legislative power is restricted substantially. A new political phenomenon – the democratic forces' struggle against their leaders – has emerged. This confrontation has clearly manifested itself in Moscow, St. Petersburg and at the current session of Russia's Supreme Soviet. The leaders who have obtained broad powers should see to it that these powers should not develop into the regime of one-man, authoritarian rule, into a new dictatorship, that they should not work against the democratization process. Incidentally, certain steps taken by the democratic leaders show that they will not manage to avoid neo-Bolshevist extremism. ■

Indian summer on the left bank of the Dniester River

Ksenia Myalo

The conflict between the government of Moldova and the residents of the left bank of the Dniester has reached a critical point. Now the opposing sides can either use force or seek an accord...

It is always warm in the Dniester Valley in early autumn. This year it is hot there, and I don't mean just the weather. Political clichés like "hot autumn" become unavoidable. Won't we see a "hot winter" too? In any case, over two thousand local women picketing railway stations in Tiraspol, Bendery and Rybnitsa, and blocking the trains' way to the right-bank part of Moldavia – Moldova proper – are not going to budge: we shall carry on until New Year's, if necessary, they say. Unless, of course, we proceed to more radical economic sanctions, such as gas and power cuts.

Dead end

Their initial demand was that the deputies of Gagauzia and the Left Bank, arrested on August 21, be set free. Kishinev turned down the demand and both of Moscow's governments – "Union" and "Russian" – ignored it, leading the picketers to toughen their position: now they demand recognition of the Pridnestrovskaya (Left-Bank) Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic as a precondition for any negotiations.

The visit of a delegation of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet did not live up to the hopes pinned on it, and so the railway impasse on the bank of the Dniester is now becoming a political metaphor. The crisis may well erupt into a bloody conflict.

The pace of events is quickening: after Ion Kostash, Moldova's Minister of the Interior, said he was prepared to break the blockade by force of arms, left-bank Moldavia announced its decision to form a national guards battalion of its own, the Dniester, and to put the militia, the Public Prosecutor's Office and the army units stationed on the PMSSR's territory under its jurisdiction. That is, to do what has already been accomplished in Moldova where the Tiras-Tigina (Dniester-Bendery) national guards battalion was consecrated last autumn before its march on Kamrat, and where Kishinev took control over the law-enforcement agencies and the army units stationed in Moldova.

Left-bank Moldavia was not in a hurry to form armed forces of its own even after the events in Dubossary, having at its disposal only the ROSMs (workers' public order squads) and in general hoping that a solution to the problem will be found within the framework of the Union. Women took the initiative there, too: on September 11th they besieged the militia and the public prosecutor's office buildings and gave the personnel of those law-enforcement agencies the choice of either swearing allegiance to the left-bank republic or resigning. Tiraspol's attempt to take control of the law-enforcement agencies brought vigorous protests from Kishinev. This reaction may spark an explosion.

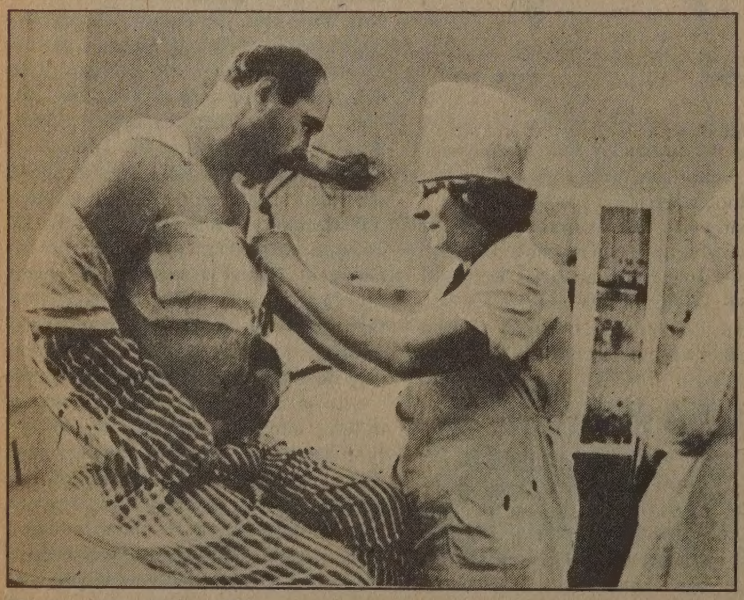
Arrests

Such a sharp acceleration of the pace of events has been caused by a number of circumstances: Moldova's firm refusal to accede to the Union; its gravitation towards Romania with which it plans to reunite eventually; Kishinev's announcement that it has taken under its jurisdiction the Moldavian-Romanian section of the USSR state border and liberalized contacts with the foreign neighbour while setting up 28 customs posts on the border between the PMSSR and the Ukraine. That marked the beginning of the process of the entire territory breaking away from the Union and becoming part of Romania. Even if this process remains de facto and is not formalized de jure for a while, it is easy to see how it will end up. This outcome is absolutely unacceptable to the left-bank republic.

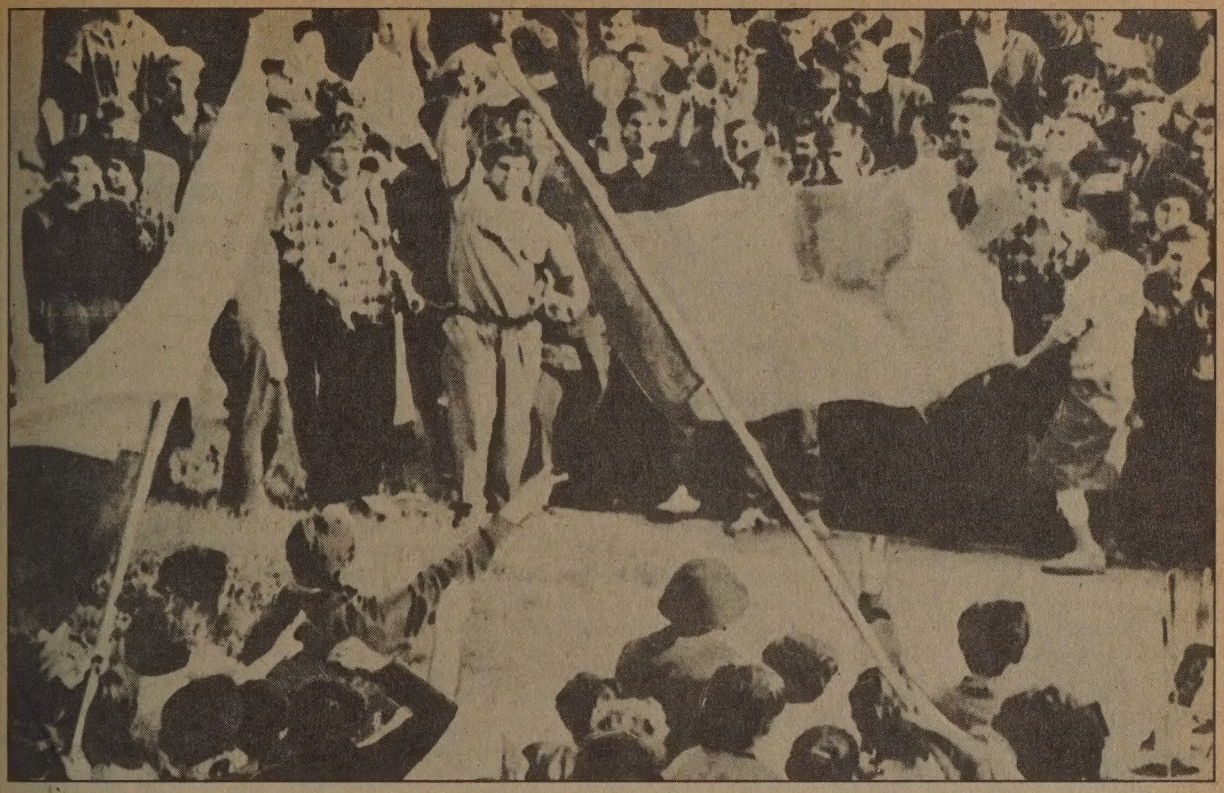
Then came the arrest of deputies, the circumstances of which deserve special attention.

Says Natalya Nikolayevna Popova, wife of Grigory Popov, a deputy of the Grigoriopol District Soviet:

"At about 1 a.m., there came a knock on the door, and although we were already turning in for the night, my husband went and opened it. Armed men in civilian clothes broke in and without introducing themselves twisted his arms, knocked his head against the door jamb and hit him on the



The first victims of the conflict



Dubossary. The conflict has divided local population. Supporters and opponents of the Dniester Republic are on the different sides of the barricades

small of his back with a rifle butt. My 16-year-old son intervened and got hit, too. Blood was streaming down my husband's face. We started shouting, our neighbours came running in, but the gunmen pushed my husband into a waiting car, and off it raced. They took my husband straight to the Kishinev jail and put him in a cell shared by seven criminals... His underwear was sent back to me stained with blood, and I keep it that way."

Bodnar Maya Mikhailovna, the wife of Bodnar Vladimir Lukich, deputy of the Grigoriopol District Soviet and of the Supreme Soviet of the PMSSR:

"At around midnight someone rang our door bell – a long peremptory ring – and then started kicking at the door. Four men broke in and three stayed back in the corridor. Our militiamen were among them. One of them, Kitar, covered my mouth and eyes with his palm and hit me on the head. My husband was already in bed, they dragged him out, barely gave him time to put some clothes on and then led him, barefoot, away."

Bodnar was also put in a cell occupied by criminals. Its broken window let in cold air from outside, but he was left without a blanket (incidentally, he had been treated for TB some time before). When his wife finally got permission to see him, he asked her to bring over a sweater and a blanket, and she did, but he never got them.

Bodnar and Popov were arrested on the night of August 22/23, and a week later Igor Nikolayevich Smirnov, Chairman of the PMSSR, was kidnapped in Kiev. The kidnapping triggered the railway blockade.

Andrei Georgievich Cheban, a deputy of the Rybnitsa Town Soviet, was also kidnapped on the same day:

"We were coming out of Kiev's Rossiya Hotel, and no sooner had Smirnov got into the car than ten or so armed men in civilian clothes surrounded me. Without showing any papers they silently twisted my arms and pushed me into the car. En route, the kidnappers used a walkie-talkie to make radio contact with another car and with Kishinev. The message they transmitted to Kishinev was: 'Carrying the load to base.'"

They took Cheban to a preliminary detention jail at 6, Tigina Street, Kishinev. The officer on duty showed no surprise at plainclothesmen bringing in the arrested man. Andrei Cheban was accused of resisting arrest.

The charge brought against Smirnov, Bodnar and Popov, "cooperation with the State of Emergency Committee," imputed to them by the mass media, does not figure in the official indictment. According to sources in Left-Bank Moldavia, there is no real proof of such cooperation. They have never voiced support, officially or privately, for the State of Emergency Committee. Formally, they were arrested on charges of "resisting the enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution of the Moldovan Republic" (Article 203/1 of that republic's Criminal Code).

Just how loosely this "resistance" is interpreted can be seen from the indictment against Smirnov accusing him of a lot of "misdeeds," which range from conducting a referendum on creating the Left-Bank Republic of Moldavia to establishing a university in Tiraspol.

Long-standing dispute

Transnistria (a term often used in Kishinev and always in Bucharest) or Left-Bank Moldavia? This is not an exercise in linguistics, but a reflection of a dispute over where that territory belongs – in Romania (Transnistria was the name applied to the lands on the left bank of the Dniester and on the Black Sea shore occupied by Romania in 1941-44) or in the Ukraine and Russia, with which it has been connected since the time of ancient Rus.

In a nutshell, the political and legal grounds for establishing the PMSSR are as follows:

1.The Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as part of the Ukrainian SSR was established in 1924 on a territory which never belonged to the Moldavian Principality since the time of its formation in 1359. Even some leaders of the Moldavian Popular Front – Yurie Roshka and Iliye Ilashku, for instance – have repeatedly admitted this fact.

2.The population of this territory has always been multinational. Ukrainians, Moldavians and Russians predominated, but Bulgarians, Poles, Jews and Serbians have also resided there for ages. The region has always been distinguished by the atmosphere of ethnic peace, which, however, is now in jeopardy as a result of Moldova's emphasis on Romanianization and on the creation of a monoethnic language and cultural space. The important thing is that the Moldavians residing on the left bank of the Dniester reject Romanianization for the most part, and categorically object to being referred to as Romanians and to their language being called Romanian. Since identifying Moldavians with Romanians is an official position of Kishienv, the left-bank Moldavians regard the establishment of the left-bank Moldavian republic as a means of preserving their ethnic identity.

3. Extra grounds were provided by the Supreme Soviet of Moldova which endorsed the Supreme Soviet commission's political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact and of the supplementary secret protocol of August 23, 1939, as well as of their consequences for Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. The commission pointed out, in particular, that the formation of the Moldavian SSR on August 2, 1940, and its incorporation into the USSR were illegal. Consequently, the republic abolished itself, as it were, and the Supreme Soviet, as those on the left bank of the Dniester saw it, deprived itself of the status of the supreme governing body of the sovereign state of Moldova.

Finally, allegations about the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact having led to the "Soviet occupation of Romanian lands do not apply to the territory on the left bank of the Dniester, which – except for the period of 1941-44, when it was occupied by Romania and called Transnistria, had never been "part of Romania." Local people hope it never will be. The leaders of left-bank Moldavia have wisely adopted the line of non-interference in right-bank Moldavia's (i.e., Bessarabia's) self-determination in any form, including its unification with Romania. However, they insist on their own republic's right to self-determination not being encroached upon either, and will stand firmly on that, I am sure.

As one of the women put it, "we have emerged spontaneously, like foam does on the crest of a wave, but now we won't turn back." Some papers alleged that the women were paid for staging pickets, were handed out liquor, that there were hysterics and declasse elements among them. People differ, of course, but most of the picketers are ordinary women, housewives and mothers, who complain about having to waste their time in the picket lines at the peak of the fruit-canning and jam-making season. I heard one of them say, to a burst of laughter, how much she missed her she-goat. Sometimes the women sing and dance.

Here is an episode certainly worth mentioning. A delegation of women came over from Kishinev to try and talk the women-picketers out of their stand. As she was addressing a picket line, one of the Kishinev women was cut short with a question: "Do you sleep with your husband? Of course you do. Well, we'd also like to spend nights in bed with our men instead of hanging around here. Well, nothing doing. We'll make up for it in our new republic!"

The women's active involvement in the birth of the new republic makes this process look almost like the delivery of a child.

Borders

Today I am convinced that Moldova could remain united and peaceful only as part of the Union. The artificiality of that republic, its multinational population, the incompatibility of Romanian and Slav vectors within a single whole – all these factors added up to a destructive force as soon as the republic took its first steps towards its own statehood.

Although it claims international recognition today, Moldova does not control almost half of its territory; therefore, its independence is largely chimerical. The process will probably continue. More likely than not, the de facto division will be legally formalized. One can only hope and pray that everything will end peacefully.

The recognition of the left-bank republic of Moldavia by Russia and the Soviet Union (or what is left of it) calls for discarding the simplistic scheme of things whereby the self-determination of the peoples means the self-determination of the republics. It is the people who possess this right, and it is also the peoples to whom sovereignty is granted.

Now legal means are preferable to armed force. One of the legal means of attaining national self-determination on a disputed territory was long ago thoroughly worked out in international practice – I mean by referendum. The process is spontaneously moving in this direction, and left-bank Moldavia is substantiating its self-determination precisely by the results of the referendums held in all its regions.

Contrary to the opinion of many democrats, I don't think it would be too democratic to fix, right now, the administrative borders between republics, i.e., to make them state borders by a new decree "from above." Even as it gave rise to phantom "sovereign republics," the ex-Union did not negate itself by absolutizing the arbitrary borders it once established.

The border issue is a dangerous one, of course, but isn't the disintegration of the Union less dangerous than that? Nevertheless, the republics opted to break away from it: independence probably means more to them than the once integral Union with its stability. So why should less value be attached to the sovereignty of the peoples?

Even the Helsinki Accords do not rule out the possibility of redrawing state borders if necessary, so why insist on the *status quo* of the internal borders which have no international status? Besides everything else, there is no reason to believe that these borders will be taken for granted by the people before whose very eyes the borders of the USSR have begun to "warp."

We have yet to discover that it is they,the peoples and citizens, rather than any "centres" – whether Union or republican – that are the real subjects of history and the possessors of rights.

The left bank of the Dniester is one of the regions where this truth is already clearly manifest. Therefore the women say, "It's no use waiting, we've got to take power into our own hands, and we'll have a republic, we certainly will..."

In left-bank Moldavia, Indian summer is at its height.

* * *

This article was already at the printer's when the news came that the situation in Moldova has predictably worsened. In Dubossary, the epicentre of a new explosion, clashes left many people seriously wounded. As was the case last year, all of them are residents of the left bank of the Dniester. Moldavian police clashed with members of workers' public order squads. I got word from Rybnitsa that Moldavian police had attacked members of the workers' public order squads, trying to scatter their road patrol teams and to take the truncheons – their own weapons – away from them.

This is obviously just a pretext; the aggravation was actually caused by a rapid process of the law-enforcement agencies changing over to the jurisdiction of the PMSSR in left-bank Moldavia. The local police has already sworn allegiance to the people of left-bank Moldavia in Rybnitsa and Kamenka. Judging by the information that reached me, a similar ceremony has taken place in Tiraspol as well. This is likely to intensify the conflict on the banks of the Dniester and may transform it into an interstate one, like that between Armenia and Azerbaijan. We can only hope that this time it won't take us four years to realize the simple truth that the worst way to act under the circumstances is to resort to injunction and to deny the conflicting sides recognition as equal participants in any dialogue that might take place between them.

The Party isn't over

Lev Bezymensky

The opponents of the Communist Party could not even have dreamt of such a rapid ouster of their target from the political scene. What does the Communist exodus mean? Leaving the ideological disputes about communism, socialism and revisionism aside, let us consider the consequences of this exodus for the country. With the CPSU out, the Soviet Union has lost the last factor keeping the country together. If new Communist or Socialist parties appear, they will never be all-Union parties. The very pattern of the union of sovereign states will not allow any new CPSU to appear.

Who is to blame for the CPSU's miserable finale? The CPSU leadership, which stubbornly refused to accept the new realities and to recognize the old blunders seemed so unshakeable that it was sort of asking for purely administrative measures to be taken against it. The Communist Party's regional and district committees have been sealed (not in all republics, though) and the party apparatchiks are hunting for jobs. I am writing this with no gloating, but with a feeling of sadness. Did it really have to come to this?

The situation is absurd. The paralysis of the CPSU and the political surrender of its leadership reached the point where the Central Committee was unable even to express its attitude to Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation from the post of the General Secretary and suggestion that the Central Committee dissolve itself, to say nothing of acting as the President suggested. Secretaries of the Central Committee are said to be convening somewhere discussing something, patiently waiting for the new authorities' permission to hold a plenum. Meanwhile, the traces of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia are nowhere to be found.

Once again, let us not gloat over the CP's plight. The so often mentioned "millions of rank-and-file Communists," whose party dues used to be the source of the apparatchiks' good life for so many years, deserve more than the devil-may-care attitude the party leaders are showing them now. Today the former have to decide what to do next and which party to join (or not to join any) independently.

While they contemplate their future, though, strange things are happening in some republics. Everybody was astonished when the Communist Party of Kazakhstan turned into a socialist party, and the Communist Party of Uzbekistan became a popular-democratic party overnight. This transformation (especially in the case of Uzbekistan) is widely suspected to be an attempt to camouflage the old CP structures. In Tajikistan, where the Communist Party was banned, these structures put up even stronger resistance by staging mass demonstrations. As a result, they toppled the parliamentary leadership of Tajikistan and imposed a state of emergency in the republic.

Fortunately, the events in Tajikistan did not take a violent turn: the army refused to put down the popular protests, and the street confrontations brought the heirs of the Communist Party to a stalemate. Nonetheless, the reports from Dyushambe are alarming. No "post-communist epoch" has come, contrary to the naive expectations of the pro-democracy forces. Some segments, and not only in Central Asia, tend to forget the lessons of August and even issue cynical statements that Yanayev was a fool and next time cleverer methods will be used...

What will happen when the CPSU is allowed to reopen its committees?

The ideology that resulted in the coup lives on. Significantly, the authors of the "Word to the Nation," an appeal of leading conservatives published shortly before the coup and containing some key elements of the putschists' programme, have not distanced themselves from that instigative call. On the contrary, speaking at a recent meeting of the Union of Writers of Russia, they publicly confirmed their advocacy of this policy. Evidently, they must be counting on something. The Pamyat society is staging a comeback, and anti-Semitic slogans have desecrated the graves of WW2 victims in Kiev, where fifty years ago Nazis exterminated a great number of Jews at Baby Yar. New "enemies" are being looked for, while the aggravating economic chaos is playing into the hands of those who would like to avenge the August defeat, especially as the CPSU activities were only "suspended," and not banned altogether and the inertia of the past persists on a scale democrats could never expect.

What path could a former Communist choose? The Bolsheviks of the Communist Initiative are going to convene soon. Nina Andreyeva's party has long raised the banner of struggle for the ideals of Marx–Engels–Lenin–Stalin. There have been calls to establish a new, moderate Labour Party. The followers of Alexander Rutskoi's Democratic Party of Communists of Russia are getting ready for a congress. However, these movements are remote from the bulk of the party, whose members are not at all sure they really need to join any party in the future. It is none other than the CPSU that made party membership and participation in political activities repulsive to most rank-and-file members. This may easily be the worst legacy of the outgoing party. It is much more difficult to get rid of this legacy than to seal the CPSU premises and to feed detective stories about CPSU money in Swiss banks to the reading public.

The triumph of democracy in August 1991, and the grief over its three young defenders are indivisible

A sacred memory

We must keep alive the spirit of those three days on the barricades in front of the White House, when we were at our best...

It would be an exaggeration to say that I am happy. I am not really happy, and not only because of personal troubles that any human being is destined to live through. There is something very personal in me which forms a tragic connection with what is happening at home, which Pushkin identified as "ashes of the home hearth."

But there are moments when I feel really happy in the bucolically calm Prague which seems so peaceful after my several turbulent months in Moscow. It is so lonely in the silence of my Prague office where the telephone seldom rings and where I constantly feel worried about what tomorrow may bring to my compatriots back home. I feel happy when I remember those three days in August, the barricades around the Russian White House, the meetings, the slogans, the trolleybuses blocking tank routes – and faces. Never in my not-so-short lifetime have I seen so many inspired faces.

The journalistic community never missed an opportunity to mock "homo Sovieticus," to dwell on the genetic degradation of the nation and to derive a perverted joy from describing the moral abyss that nation found itself in. Every passing day intensified the feeling of guilt before our boys and girls to whom we gave only apathy, shattered illusions and ersatz living. But those boys and girls rose to defend the Motherland unarmed. Their inspired faces were their only weapons which they used to stop tanks. They were hard as rock on the barricades, jubilant after the victory, and immersed in mourning at the burial of the coup's victims. They were really beautiful. Said cellist Mstislav Rostropovich who came down from Paris to join the White House defenders: "I happened to meet girls who worked as nurses on the barricades, and I was impressed by the pure nobleness of their faces." Echoed actor Igor Kvasha: "I used to think our people were worse. Now I know that this country is not at all as lousy as I thought it was." I saw tears in the eyes of a war veteran who had long ago lost faith in anything: "Now our grandchildren have something to be proud of!" During the mourning ceremony at Moscow's Manezh Square, a mother whose son had cut open his veins exclaimed "Had he seen this, he would never have committed suicide!"

The marching of the funeral procession began from Manezh Square. There were portraits of the three young men sailing over the crowd like a typical portrait of the 1990s generation. Symbolically, the victims included a businessman, a worker and an artist. Even more symbolically – one of the three defenders was a Jew. As the procession marched, the Russian Orthodox prayers mixed with the strains of the Jewish violin to make one tragic tune that cleansed souls...

Much looked symbolic in those days. Vladimir Lukin, Chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, who drafted the resolution calling for an emergency session of Russia's parliament even before the leaders of Russia arrived in Moscow from their out-of-town dachas, had seen Soviet tanks rolling into Prague on August 21, 1968. He was expelled from Czecho-Slovakia several days after the invasion because he refused to welcome it. Twenty-three years later, on August 21, 1991, he celebrated a symbolic victory over those tanks. A meeting took place in Prague's Vaclav Square on August 21 this year. One of my colleagues, as he headed for the square, confided that he was uneasy about attending it: "They will be blaming us again, and they will gloat about our having tanks at our own home now." When he got there he heard the whole square chanting: "Russia! Russia! We are with you — be with us!" This is worth something... Let us ask ourselves: were those who assembled to defend the White House specially selected for the beauty of their faces? Were they the best? Of course not. They are ordinary Soviet people who ride the metro, their faces grim and apathic, who quarrel in the queues and "put up cockfights over the abyss," as Vladimir Maksimov put it. In those August days the best in us brought a glimmer of inspiration to our faces. It would be naive to think that we could go on living inspired after the euphoria recedes, but it is necessary to remember that we were inspired once.

One episode from Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* sounds like a prophetic symbol today. This episode is the funeral of the boy Ilya (the same name as one of the three victims), who was hated and persecuted by other boys and whom they understood and came to love only shortly before his death. The speech of Alyosha Karamazov over Ilya's body: "Always remember how nice it was to be here together united by the shared feeling of love that made us better than we really are... Remember that there is nothing stronger, or healthier or more eminent than a good memory... some beautiful and sacred memory... It may be the best education possible."

Let us remember how Democrats and Communists, old and young people, Russians and Jews, Azerbaijanians and Armenians, private farmers and kolkhozniks, bosses and subordinates formed a human chain and came to feel like one people. We had long indulged in the belief that we were the best and greatest nation. Then suddenly we became the worst nation and even joked about our own tragic history, shocking the civilized world. Sir Rodric Braithwaite, the British Ambassador to the Soviet Union, once remarked: "It never fails to surprise me when I hear Russians say: 'We are a nation of slaves, we are small people...' It is impossible to build a democracy on such a foundation." Will we once again become the best nation? Some of the victorious speeches and utterings have a Messianic note in them and the reaction to them was immediate and alarming. However, it was probably for the first time in those August days that the Russian national idea blended with the idea of democracy. Before the coup these two ideas used to oppose each other: some people thought that totalitarianism was historically Russian and that, consequently, democracy was alien to Russia, others thought the Russian nationalist idea just did not make sense. In those Augusts days, the word "patriot" lost its humiliating association with Russian jingoists. The whole country had a chance to see that real patriots were not the writers who had orchestrated the putsch by issuing an inflammatory "Word to the Nation," but those young people whom they had so often scoffed at. Evidently, memory fails some people.

Recently, journalists of the conservative daily *Sovetskaya Rossiya* issued another appeal to readers. In my opinion, the journalists displayed the ultimate cynicism when they complained "of public insults and the anonymous telephone terror," as if there had been no deadly barricades erected to repel real terror. The journalists vociferously condemned the "corruption," "cruelty," "immorality," "nihilism" and "heartlessness" of the young — did no one of them stick his neck out during the putsch? It was an outrage to maintain that *Sovetskaya Rossiya* was one of the first newspapers to condemn the putsch, as if it had not been *Sovetskaya Rossiya* that on August 21 hailed "the end of disorder" and reported a "feeling of profound satisfaction shared by the working people in response to the statement by the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR." As if it had not been *Sovetskaya Rossiya* that wrote that "the resolute intentions of the Emergency State Committee" were approved even in the "celestial circles," referring to the bright summer day that marked the event somewhere.

Do they really think we have no memory?

However, memory does not mean rancour.

When cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, who suffered enough from the Communists, wrote in the passport (for there was no other sheet of paper) of his new friend whom he met defending the White House: "I am happy to have been with you there," he never attached any significance to the fact that the bearer of that passport was a Communist Party member. This was Marina Tsvetayeva's "law of the outstretched hand" at work. It makes one bitter to learn about new crackdowns on the differently minded, the fuss over CPSU property and new "cockfight over the abyss," which has not become lesser... All this is betrayal of the people we were on the barricades with. We should preserve that feeling and analyze those days and the reasons that led to them. We should avoid putting all the blame on the other side instead of remembering the birthmarks of totalitarianism which even the most radical democrats cannot hide. We still cannot understand that the real problem is not the old structures which have to be demolished, but the old mentality which cannot be changed overnight. The socialist spell is not the problem of the apparatchiks alone.

To keep the sacred memory means to remember the blood which people covered with flowers on the spot where the three young men were killed, as well as the blood that continues to be spilled in other places. Kent Moores, head of the US-based Russian Research Centre, said that while Soviet society rejected the grim pages of history and massive repressions, public consciousness had not yet developed an aversion to blood and the redeeming cathartic silence was still alien to Soviets. That cathartic silence was there when the collective portrait of the generation sailed over the funeral procession. I shall always remember how the crowds parted to let through a column of White House defenders heading for the mournful ceremony in Manezh Square and the loving and grateful silence that followed them. Then came a whisper of "thank you," followed by an admiring but not loud chorus of gratitude — and there was not a single proud or triumphant look in response to that chorus. It seemed that the people marching in the column were immersed in their own memories, in that cathartic silence which we so lack now.

Let us remember the time when we were better than we are.

People were picking up for souvenirs pieces of glass from the shattered windows of trolleybuses that kept away the tanks. I also have one such piece before me in my Prague office. At the moments when my personal troubles and worries for my country besiege me, I look at that piece of glass and pray to the Lord to grant me fortitude and calm in the face of what the day to come is bearing, and I tell myself: "Remember. Keep the sacred memory."

Inna Rudenko,
our own correspondent

MOSCOW—PRAGUE

Gilded Lenin in a monastery yard

What lies ahead of the Union and its republics is the theme of an interview granted by **Adam Daniel ROTFELD,** director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, to *New Times* correspondent **Alexander POLYUKHOV**

New Times. A coup presupposes a state of emergency. How would you describe the period after the August 19-21 events?

Adam Rotfeld. The state of emergency in the USSR lasted not 3 days, but 73 years. Now life in the Soviet Union is returning to normal, and the country is proceeding with the process (begun in February 1917 and interrupted in October of the same year) of establishing democratic institutions. The putschists did not impose the state of emergency, since the only thing they wanted was the return of the "normal situation" and of the state system they were used to. But the Soviet people, who refused to go back to the old way of life, demonstrated that much had changed during the last 5-6 years.

NT. Why, do you think, the putschists, having full information about the internal situation at their disposal, failed to grasp the profound changes going on in the country?

A.R. Mikhail Gobatchev, explaining why he had appointed Vladimir Kryuchkov chief of the KGB, said that he preferred a "non-professional chekist" whose previous field of action was foreign intelligence. And the President's choice turned to be the right one – a real professional would have never made a mistake in assessing the situation and the people's mood. But undoubtedly, the putschists' gravest mistake was that they still placed their trust in "commands from the top," not realizing that quite a new generation has been brought up which no longer believes in empty promises and is not frightened by the threat of political violence.

NT. Having promised to retain the Union, the junta dealt a telling blow to it. Will it prove to be a fatal one?

A.R. The USSR started to disintegrate long before the putsch. The conspirators just removed the brakes put on the process. The dominant ideology, which has lost its power, was the cornerstone that helped the USSR remain an integral whole. Having seized power in the Russian empire, Bolsheviks replaced Orthodoxy with a new quasi-religion. I still remember one of the *Pravda* headlines – "Along the sacred places in search of Lenins relics..."

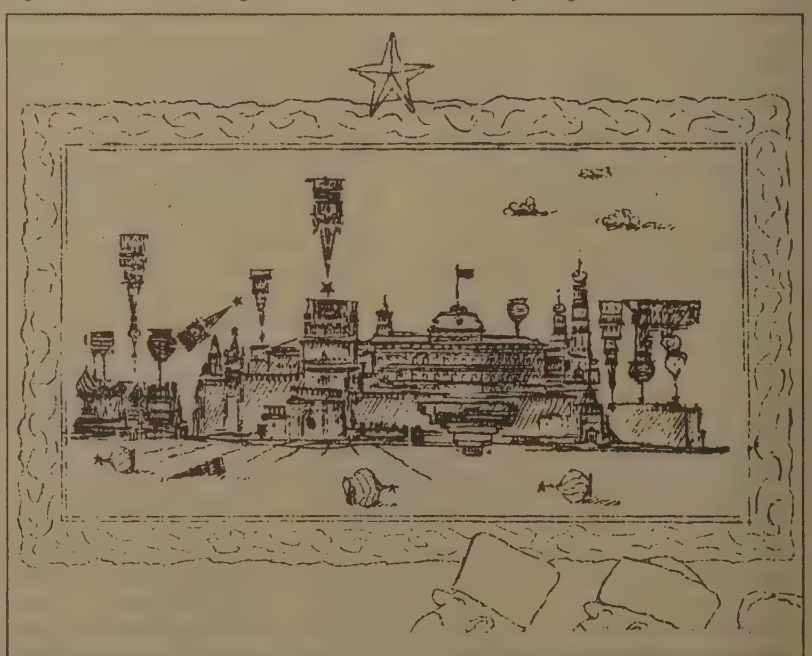
Stalin, who once studied at a seminary, proclaimaid Marxism-Leninism a new religion and Lenin a demigod. Ardent Marxist-Leninist supporters and advocates became apostles: Stalin took on the role of an acting God on Earth. This state of affairs could have lasted in the Middle Ages, but not in the 20th century. During the Second World War my parents were killed by the Nazis, and I found shelter in a Uniate monastery in the Lvov Region (in the Ukraine). Several years ago I managed to visit the place once again: the monastery housed a lunatic asylum and in the centre of the monastery yard there was a gilded Lenin bust shining in the sun. All over the world closed monasteries and convents are used for charity purposes, but why place there a bust of Lenin?

NT. In one of the Uzbek collective farms I saw a silver monument to Marx. So the Ukrainian monastery is evidently the most appropriate place for Marx's successor. As you have already said, the main characteristic feature of the Soviet epoch faded out, but it was not the only one. What else, do you think, may cement the Union when its ideology does not reign supreme any more?

The Union died, long live the Union

A.R. The USSR is a vast space with common economic and social problems. Certain foreign policy issues as well defence interests of various regions and republics also coincide. There are some who presumptuously long for a "new life" to begin on their own, but materially everything hinges on the Soviet market. It is only on the Soviet market that economic objects and subjects may successfully transact, for they are of no interest for the world market. Who else, if not a Soviet buyer, would want to have a Lithuanian-made TV set? Obviously, a foreign customer would prefer a South Korean television set. So the most resolute way out is to develop trade and economic ties between the republics, and to preserve the common economic space. The command-and-compulsion system should give way to trade relations.

NT. Do you think the political Union will be radically changed?



Drawing from the newspaper Presse (Austria)

A.R. Sometimes people refer to the reshaping of British Empire into a Commonwealth. But the Russian empire in no way resembles the British one, rather it is more like the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, whose destinies are well known... In order not to follow suit, common sense and infinite patience on the part of the Union negotiations participants are needed.

NT. Do you think the current republican leaders have the required qualities?

A.R. Time will show. I would rather speak about Boris Yeltsin who plays the leading role. He is a special politician destined for a special period which calls for courage, iron will and decisive steps. Nevertheless, Boris Yeltsin should be aware of the assumed responsability. His comment that the issue of the Russian borders was still open made everyone shudder.

NT. Can you say that this was a political game aimed at prompting other republics to sign the Union treaty?

A.R. Yeltsin is not Machiavelli. I will be quite frank with you: there are territories (like the Crimea which is now part of the Ukraine) that until the 18th century belonged to the Tatars and only later were joined to Russia. Thus the question of changing their status should be raised on no account. Yeltsin was wise enough to disavow his statement as it whipped up nationalist tendencies and helped local leaders, even those who supported or sympathized with the putschists (I won't give their names), to consolidate their leading positions.

Wither the Union?

NT. No one can now say what the new Union will be like. But in what direction will it go, or, to be more precise, should it go?

A.R. There was the West and the East. Now the East, with its political and ideological values, has come to its end. It is not that it has been defeated by the West; the East just has exhausted itself. East European countries are now trodding the path towards modern civilization. Until now Mikhail Gorbachev's words about the Union's adherence to universal ideals sounded empty. Now they seem to be a prophecy.

What does the future have in store for the Union? A society governed by high moral and democratic principles, where economic development relies on market levers. Many people are frightened by these new trends. It is said that a patient suffering from rheumatism continues to feel pain even after his leg has been amputated. And it is the same with the Soviet people, who still abide by the bygone categories. They want to be free and dignified, but even so they wait for the government to satisfy their requirements. The age-old slave-serf fear may be understood in a way: "I would rather have a 'dwarf' flat, but free of charge. I would rather queue for barely edible, but cheap, food."

Elsewhere people provide for themselves. It is not an easy matter, but freedom and indpendence are gained through untiring efforts. Freedom is responsibility. Soviet people have yet to understand this and get used to it.

NT. Soviet society is a militarized one, and its army is an inalianable part of imperial inheritance, as is the gilded bust of Lenin. It is not difficult to remove the bust, but what about the armed forces and the common strategic space?

A.R. Undoubtedly, the Union will reduce its excessive and superfluous strategic forces both at home and abroad. Here we come upon the second element of Stalin's plan to build a New Rome. Prior to the mid–1930s, Soviet military might served purely defensive purposes – and this state of things in time clashed with the interests of the existing aggressive ideology. The very first attempt to disseminate Soviet ideology abroad (the Red Army's campaign against Warsaw) went awry precisely for this reason. Stalin drew necessary conclusions from the lesson and drastically changed the military potential's dependence on the economy. From then on military orders dictated Soviet economic development.

NT. How to draw the line between defence sufficiency and excessiveness?

A.R. The new Union should have enough strength and unity to defend itself, and the military doctrine, structure and organization should be subordinate to that aim. Obviously, no one in the Soviet Union thinks about aggression any more (besides, its armed forces are not the same), but the Soviet military capability in general is still great. It is desirable that the Union quickly but sensibly reduce its military potential by abiding by its "old" disarmement treaties and by concluding new ones.

A hello to arms?

NT. Sovereign republics are now voicing their intention to have their own national armies. Do they need them and, if they do, what kind of armies should there be?

A.R. The desire of some republics to consider the army as an obligatory symbol of a state system is very dangerous. Soviet republics have started building their own armed forces. While the world in general is in the process of cutting down its military expenditures, new burdensome allocations for defence are continually being made on one sixth of our planet. Those who assert that "national militarism" expenditures will be small are wrong.

Unfortunately, I am a pessimist. Nothing will prevent the process, and we can only check it. Why should Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have three separate armies? Why not form joint armed forces? Regrettably, each of the three republics will have its own army. Hence, it is necessary to pool our efforts in limiting the number of armaments and armed forces. Quite unexpectedly, collapsing economy and financial difficulties will play into the hands of disarmament supporters.

NT. Russia will be the mightiest military power...

A.R. Certainly, Russia will remain a powerful military force, whose potential exceeds that of Britain or France. The United States, the only superpower, will be Russia's partner. It is also worth noting that the imperial army has always been Russian in its essence (irrespective of the nationality of its officers and men) – in tsarist days and during the Soviet period as well. So what a Russian army would need are just some organizational changes.

NT. What will future relations be between the world community, the Union and its republics?

A.R. The world community would like the Soviet republics to be unanimous in that the Union be represented abroad by the central government, at least on key issues. This stand would facilitate both the fulfillment of Soviet international obligations and the promotion of ties with the Union.

At the same time one can not help but notice the readiness to maintain relations on two levels: with the centre and the republics. Details will depend on the agreements to be reached by the republics on the Union's futurre functions. By the way, practically unnoticed was the fact that Poland established parallel relations with Russia and the Ukraine last year. Possibly, future events could take that course.

NT. So the new Union is something quite unusual – it is neither empire, nor federation, nor confederation. How would you describe it? Or is world statesmanship unable to compete with the ingenuity of my compatriots?

A.R. I think it will be something like a union. Say, between Latvia and Poland, or that of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

STOCKHOLM

Russia's nuclear burden

Dual controls for strategic nuclear arms * What to do with bombs? * A USSR nuclear planning group?

Pavel Bayev

For the first time in human history a democratic revolution has taken place in a nuclear power. The rich revolutionary experience of our country shows the main problems are still ahead. The democratic forces have just broken the first bulwark of the opposition, and their leader has just announced the first democratic decrees. It has become clear, however, that many former policies on European security are senseless. The main idea behind the balance of power has proved abstract and ill-founded. The most intricate nuclear equations underlying the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, which was considered of historic importance but yesterday, today evoke nothing but regret over the wasted time. One more thing has now become clear. The nuclear factor greatly increases the risk of conflicts generated by revolutionary situations, and makes the whole of Europe a hostage of unpredictable social changes which are hard to control. New developments make it indispensable to urgently revise the nuclear status of our country.

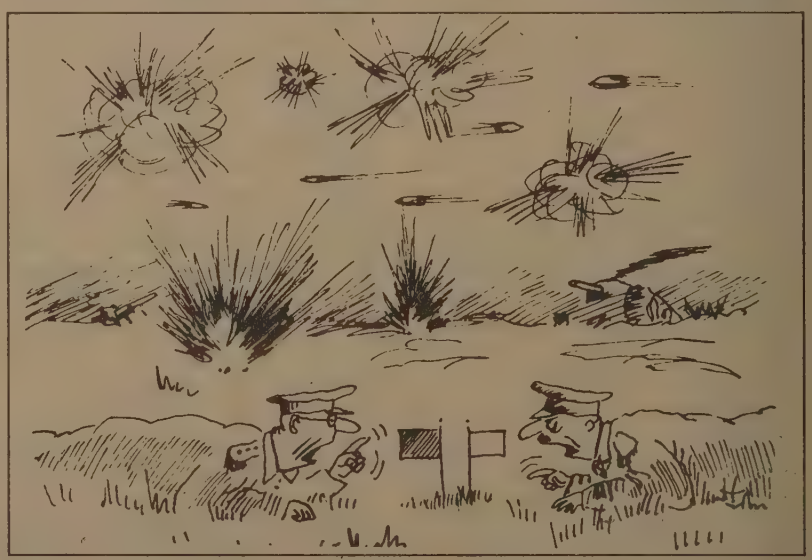
Inner deterrent

Nuclear relations among sovereign republics is the first thing to specify now. Today the USSR nuclear club consists of three members: the Russian Republic, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. Perhaps even two, if we take into consideration that the Ukrainian government proclaimed a nuclear-free policy. The nature of nuclear relations should be specified without delay, because after presidential elections the isolationist tendencies in the republic can markedly grow. The danger of nationalism can scarcely be exaggerated. Combined with nuclear ambitions it can be detrimental to any government system.

It should be noted that even a nuclear-free Ukraine will pose a definite challenge to the security of a new Union. It results from the fact that 10 republican leaders, with the best of intentions, are trying to shape the new Union on the basis of two incompatible patterns: a "loose confederation" with a free-market economy and a "rigid" federation with common armed forces. The economic and military-strategic areas only seem homogeneous. In reality, though, the economic area is yet to be built up, while the military and strategic area can hardly be retained. Republics cannot be sovereign without their own armies. Para-military formations, like National Guards, are but the first step in that direction. The second might be the demand of the republics that conscripts should perform active service only in their native territories. Following that, demands on the division of military property might be expected. All this evolution will hardly take more than one year.

The Ukraine, counting on the numerous army officers and its well-developed military infrastructure, is better prepared than any other republic to form its own armed forces. There are quite a few forces and situations which can easily create tensions in this quasi-state. (To my mind, for instance, the Crimea would sooner invite the descendants of Baron Vrangel than welcome a president representing the Rukh movement.) Hence armed forces may be used for "peace-keeping" operations in interior conflicts. In this light the statement by the representative of President Yeltsin concerning the boundaries does not look overly bold or mistaken. It is necessary to state one's position while the monopoly of the means of pressure is retained.

Of course, even disguised nuclear



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

blackmail is out of the question. Nevertheless, there exists the effect of nuclear deterrence, because of which even the most resolute leaders are cautious in adopting risky resolutions. The strategy of "inner deterrent" should be based not on threats, but on the common realization of responsibility, which can promote consolidation. The atmosphere of confidence should prevail and new structures are to be set up. One such structure could be a nuclear consultation centre open for cooperation among all members of a new Union. It would be not out of place to recall that Norway and Denmark, both nuclear-free countries on principle, participate in the NATO Nuclear Planning Group.

Apparently, the nuclear responsibilities of a new Union centre will boil down to consultation and planning procedures, with Russia actually keeping nuclear potential under control. Such a state of affairs will have certain advantages (a permanent membership in the UN Security Council will be kept, for instance), but also will entail more problems and heavier responsibilities. None other than Russia will have to ensure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons within the ex-USSR. None other than Russia will bear responsibility for the security of nuclear stockpiles. And this problem calls for serious attention.

Preventive measures

Let's begin with stating the fact that it is impossible to ensure an acceptable security level of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. This conclusion might seem peremptory, but many things prove that it is correct. I shall mention three of them. The democratization of a social system influences its military establishment. In this situation no escapades of Army and Naval officers can be considered too extravagant. Even the *Hunt for "Red October"* best seller about the runaway Soviet nuclear submarine will fade in this light. The danger of terrorism keeps growing before our very eyes, and nuclear warheads urgently being withdrawn from the centres of tension are a perfect object for terrorists. Last but not least, amidst a general mess intricate technological systems fail now and then. We had some instances of this in peace time, like the terrific explosion of missile depots in Severomorsk in May 1984.

In my view, instead of citing more examples to prove my point it would be better to try to think of some preventive measures. The first of them can be stricter centralized control over nuclear weapons. Situations like the one in Foros, when the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces was deprived of access to the strategic nuclear arms control panel, should be utterly exluded. (By the way, it is still not clear who got access to that panel then.) For the near future perhaps it would be agreed that two persons are to exercise that control: the President of the USSR and the President of Russia. Before long it could be necessary to secure the personal control of the Russian President and to legalize the procedure of passing control in extraordinary cases.

The second measure can be a technological one, based on the latest methods excluding the use of nuclear weapons without official government approval. It is necessary to carefully inspect all nuclear installations, to enlarge the best protected depots, to close small ones, and to limit the number of exercises with the deployment of nuclear weapons. It is worthwhile to recall that top secrecy does not always guarantee security. Very often the blanket of secrecy covers extreme disorder.

The third preventive measure to ensure sufficient guarantees is a unilateral reduction of nuclear arms. According to Western estimates (which we quote so often!) the Soviet Army and Air Force have about 8,000 units of non-strategic nuclear warheads. Even if the USSR has a third of this number it should be cut several times, to become approximately 500 units. Reductions cannot be the main issue at negotiations (which will not begin, apparently). The time of talks and accounts has gone. Now the possessor himself will determine the ceiling, taking into consideration the amount which he can reliably keep under control.

Shoulder to shoulder

Sharing the burden is a usual thing for NATO. Today it has cropped up in NATO's relations with the ex-enemy. The nuclear threat from the East cannot be neutralized by the classical "deterrence." It calls for partnership. Judging by their first visits, notwithstanding their kind feelings towards Gorbachev, NATO leaders have come to the conclusion that the Russian Republic will be their only partner in nuclear talks.

Nuclear cooperation is most promising in the field of the latest technologies, not military, but accompanying. For some time now the United States has been informing us that it is ready to give assistance in the technical improvement of the control and communication system, to offer the latest R/D on preventing non-sanctioned use of nuclear weapons, and to cooperate in counteracting terrorism. We should respond to that immediately, without our usual sloth and our eternal fear lest our "nuclear secrets" get into enemy hands. Cooperation calls for more openness.

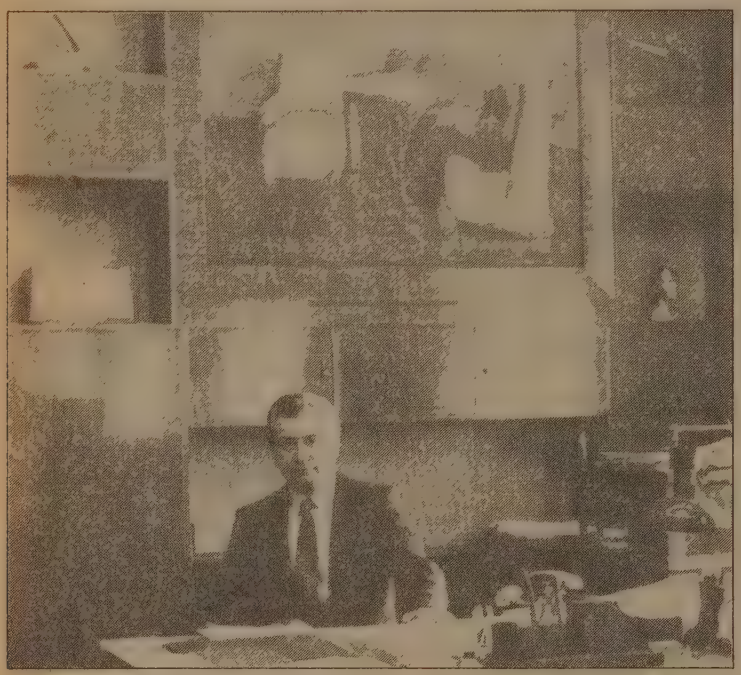
The unilateral reduction of nuclear weapons can become a major trend of cooperation as well. The United States has been the first to take this road, and is ready, together with us, to proceed at a much quicker pace. Technological aid is also possible here, because an ecologically clean process of the destruction of nuclear warheads is required. For extraordinary situations the following way seems quite reasonable: certain groups of nuclear warheads can be kept under international control right in Russia, until they are destroyed.

I should like to mention one more trend of cooperation. Russia will need nuclear status for decades, not for a year or two. Hence, it will not be able to do without nuclear testing. The Novaya Zemlya testing ground is notorious for its nuclear tests. Joint programmes of its updating together with the United States and France can at least partially lessen the anxiety of Northern Europe.

Responsibility for nuclear problems rests with the Russian governement now. Meanwhile, energetic Russian leaders have very modest experience in this field. The standard of nuclear behavior have nothing to do with either resolutions passed in camera, or with inflammatory speeches. Clear-cut and well-considered policy is needed for the solid basis of Russia's nuclear status. ■

A monarchist in the Soviet military-industrial complex

A kilo of a jet fighter costs more than a kilo of saucepans does. Which is more profitable for munitions factories to sell?



Alexander SARKISOV,
Lenin Prize winner, President and Chief Designer of the Leningrad Klimov Association, interviewed by a *New Times* correspondent

In 1913, the Russian Renault joint-stock company was set up in Petersburg. It produced, in particular, the French-designed engine Gnome, and later launched the commercial production of Russia's most powerful engines rated at 200-220 hp. The aircraft designer Sikorsky actively cooperated with the Russian Renault. Renamed Krasny Oktyabr in the late twenties, the plant switched to the manufacturing of tractor engines and the first Soviet motorcycles. In 1946, the government transferred the designer Vladimir Klimov from Ufa to Leningrad and put him in charge of an engine pilot plant. In the fifties, the plant came up with the first Soviet turbojet engine, the legendary VK-1 which powered the MiG-15 and MiG-17 fighters and the IL-28 bomber.

In the 1980s, the designers of the former Russian Renault created the engine for the famous MiG-29.

New Times. Are your plant's products up to the latest world standards?

A.Sarkisov. In cooperation with the Mikoyan Design Bureau we have created one of the world's best fighters, the MiG-29. First demonstrated at a Farnborough Aircraft show in Britain in 1988, it created a sensation in the world of aviation, especially by its "tail slide" aerobatic stunt. In a number of characteristics, the plane's engine is unparalleled elsewhere in the world, and we charge a high enough price for it on the world market – three million dollars. A MiG-29 itself costs about 25 million dollars.

N.T. What are your designers working on now?

A.S. We have pratically completed the engine for the IL-114 civil plane. It has cut fuel consumption to a half or even a third as compared with other aircraft in its class. Our other line is the development of helicopter power plants. Practically all the Mil helicopters use our engines. Recently we have created an engine which can burn both kerosene and liquefied gas. This engine will bring the country billions in profit. Unfortunately, we have been compelled to suspend this job for lack of money.

N.T. Do you think that the events of August 19-21 will have any effect on the situation at your plant?

A.S. Much, if not all, will depend on the level of our politicians' professionalism. The Soviet engine industry can be destroyed overnight, but its reconstruction will take a minimum of 25-30 years. A truly all-out effort has been made in the USSR for years to extirpate professionalism. This is precisely why we are now living in a "land of fools."

I am not euphoric about the new authorities' performance. In the Russian government Ivan Silayev is, perhaps, the only man who knows the problems we face in our industry because he has worked in it for years himself. I stick to the principle that even if everything turns topsy-turvy in the country, exemplary order should be maintained at the plant. I am of the opinion that our plant should exist forever – provided, of course, that the nation needs top-quality engines.

N.T. What's your idea of reconversion?

A.S. Our industry should go free market. Besides that, we need a state concept of reconversion which hasn't been worked out yet. After all, reconversion does not merely amount to instructions from above as to what civil products should be made by the defence industry and how; it means large investments, much larger ones than those we got from the budget before (9-12 billion rubles in 1991). If we in the military industry find no common language with the government on that issue, no appreciable changes for the better will take place in the country.

In engine making, we are ahead of the West in many respects, so why should we curtail re-

search and development or even stop them altogether? Even if the Soviet army has just one modern combat plane left, the design office should be preserved and financed. In the West, they spare no money on such projects, whereas not a kopeck is allocated for the research and development of certain modern engine projects here.

N.T. Do you mean to say that "reconversion is subversion"?

A.S. There is no denying the need for consumer goods production by the defence industry. Today aircraft engine building plants account for about 80 percent of the country's total motor cultivator output. We make more than a million rubles' worth of "retro-style" hand coffee-grinders a year. In this way we cannot, of course, fill our market's needs for complicated superior-quality high-technology products which the defence industry is expected to make. I am against side-business taking precedence over the main lines of production. Today we are forced to make things which we are not very good at making and which simply do not pay. The Mikoyan Design Bureau is making apricot destoning devices, can you imagine that? Our Association has been instructed to develop shoe-making equipment. As the chief designer, I am supposed to be responsible for the technical standard of all the machine-tools and equipment to be produced for the shoe-making industry.

I am convinced that it is not wise to combine two different lines of production at one and the same enterprise. Look, in the world market a kilo of a modern fighter plane costs over two thousand dollars, and a kilo of saucepans, one dollar. Isn't it more rational to sell engines and spend a proportion of the income on Western-made goods of the kind we are compelled to make as part of "reconversion"?

N.T. Do you oppose this policy in any way?

A.S. We are fighting. This year, the aircraft and engine makers have united into an association of their own. We must stay together lest we should be strangled one by one. Engine makers should pursue a uniform policy with regard to military and civil clients. Now that our ministry is actually being disbanded – which, I'm sure, is a mistake – we are trying to save our personnel, our research and designs, and whole plants.

N.T. The defence industry is popularly regarded as privileged. Do you agree with that?

A.S. We are seen as a horrible monstre devouring the nation's money. Actually, we are in need of help ourselves. Until as late as two years ago, our workers' monthly wage averaged 200 rubles. Today one can't make ends meet if he gets less than 1,000 rubles a month. We shall not survive another price rise. Our best engineers and workers seek jobs with cooperatives. Just look into any factory shop, and its superintendent will show you a pile of dismissal applications from his best experts. I am not saying that people should be forbidden to change jobs. But why shouldn't cooperatives pay us for our experts who take years and a lot of money to train?

The freedom of movement law, to take effect soon, will further intensify the brain drain. Leading Western companies will only welcome our leading experts.

...Most of our plant's equipment comprises machine-tools brought in from Germany as war reparations. An industry like engine making should update its equipment every six or seven years. Our experts somehow manage to realize their advanced ideas using antediluvian equipment.

Another problem is a rapid rupture of links which had been established over the years. Specifically, our research and industrial association has close links with six engine-building plants scattered all over the country. If no prompt measures are taken at the political level, I cannot imagine how, say, the Zaporozhye Engine Making Amalgamation will do without us, and how we shall do without them.

N.T. Incidentally, how much does the state pay you?

A.S. My salary is 800 rubles – or 25 dollars – a month. My US or German counterpart gets a thousand times more. Western companies have offered me jobs on many occasions. Even the Chinese did recently.

N.T. How are you going to change over to free market relations?

A.S. Excessive secrecy was in our way for a long time. When I arrived in Farnborough, for instance – and that was my first time abroad – no one knew my name or the name of our Association. What's more, no one knew that the engine for the MiG-29 had been developed in Leningrad, although the plane itself was already known in the West. The engine was believed to have been developed in Moscow. Three years ago we started going abroad and working there. Over that time we familiarized ourselves with all the major Western engine-making companies and satisfied ourselves that the USSR has a worthy place in this field. Our engines are quite competitive with those made by the world's leading manufacturers. Therefore, I do not quite believe in the idea of our large-scale cooperation with the West in this field. As far as I can gather, what they are after is not so much cooperation as a chance to gain access to the previously secret advanced Soviet engine technologies. All our attempts to get mutually beneficial cooperation have been unsuccessful so far. Last summer, however, the Tupolev Design Bureau tried to join in a multinational project to build a supersonic 21st-century passenger plane. Let us wait and see what the West's response to that bid will be.

At the same time, cooperation with countries like China, South Korea and South Africa seems to be most promising to me. In particular, we have been commissioned by the Chinese to make the engine for a plane operated by a domestic airline of the PRC. Recently, South Africa ordered an engine for its fighter plane. Pavlov's cabinet blocked that mutually profitable deal. It asked nearly 30 million rubles for his authorization of the project...

Now the emphasis is not so much on promoting cooperation with the West in the field of engine development as on the sales of our aircraft abroad. For instance, the MI helicopters, powered by our engines, go to 75 countries, but the Association gains nothing from that. As always, all this equipment is exported through the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations whose "generals" get their high salaries only for preventing us from finding our own way to the foreign market. We want to sell our products ourselves, and we are prepared to pay taxes to the state. Why doesn't it give us a chance to modernize our industry and to make our own decisions?

N.T. What are your political sympathies?

A.S. The only demand I make of politics is that it does not interfere with our work. I keep my CPSU membership because I just cannot become a different person overnight. After the events of August 19-21, attempts are being made to outlaw the Party and Communists. Is this much different from what the sailor Zheleznyak did in 1918 when he disbanded the Constituent Assembly? Even if it has disgraced itself, the Party cannot be banned by a government decree. This is why I have forbidden taking Lenin monuments away from the factory grounds. Let them stay there as a reminder of our mistakes and delusions. As to my political creed, I am for an enlightened monarchy.

Interviewer: **Alexander Chudodeyev**
ST. PETERSBURG–MOSCOW

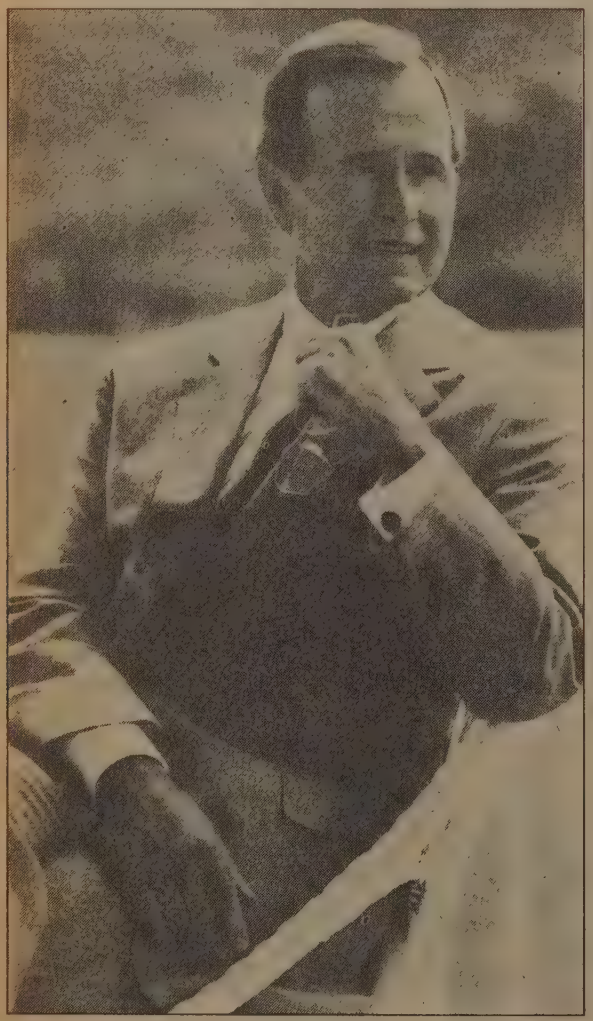
SECURITY PROBLEMS

■ The United States lifts the stand-by alert of the 450 Minuteman-2 nuclear missiles deployed at Air Force bases in that country

■ The same order applies to the 40 B-1B and B-52 strategic bombers. The nuclear weapons they carry will be mothballed

■ 2,150 US nuclear shells and missiles will be withdrawn from overseas bases, transported to the continental US and disassembled

■ 400 nuclear charges will be removed from US warships and mothballed. 100 sea-based Tomahawk cruise missiles with nuclear warheads will also be mothballed



George Bush extends an olive branch. Don't be afraid to accept it

The American peace threat

The option is either to keep the unreliable and obsolete nuclear arsenal or to stay abreast of technological progress

Eduard Shevardnadze

It is not easy to comment on the nuances of President Bush's latest political initiatives or to see actual figures and comparisons behind the wording of the address from Washington.

However, I do not think it really matters what the military-strategic mathematics of the superpower relations will look like. This mathematics will be defined in the future talks where both sides will be seeking a mutually acceptable balance of interests and will make reasonable and necessary bargains. All this lies ahead. However, this time this future is not as distant as we, and the Americans used to think. Without waiting for the negotiations to start, the US President ordered that the United States eliminate its global stock of ground-based tactical nuclear weapons. Thus, proceeding from what the President said, in the nearest future the United States will eliminate all nuclear artillery shells and battlefield missile warheads currently deployed at US bases in Europe and across the world. The only exception will be the air-launched nukes.

US allies in Europe will also eliminate battlefield nuclear weapons (artillery shells and short-range missiles).

Another important element of the US-proposed package of measures is the idea of a zero option on sea-based nuclear weapons, non-strategic submarine-based nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons deployed on ground-based naval aviation, and nuclear bombs on aircraft carriers. In other words, the Bush proposal means that the superpower navies must be stripped of all non-strategic nuclear weapons. I would like to stress that the commitments relating to ground- and sea-based nuclear weapons must be comprehensive and undertaken on a mutual basis.

According to the Bush plan, not all nuclear weapons removed from their current positions will be destroyed – a part of the nuclear arsenal will be mothballed deep in the national territories.

It must be recalled that the Soviet side has traditionally insisted on the limitation and elimination of the battlefield nukes and as traditionally demanded negotiations on and reductions of naval nukes.

Nuclear-capable artillery and short-range missiles came to us as military excesses of the Cold War. By virtue of their performance characteristics, these weapons are the most dangerous and least necessary ones. Field commanders have always been faced with the dilemma of either using them or losing them to the enemy. Since the short range of these weapons made it possible to employ them only either on friendly territory or on allied territory, no side was exactly happy about the prospect. But such weapons existed when the opposing blocs immediately faced each other.

The situation changed radically after the Soviet troops withdrawal from Eastern Europe. Neither the Soviet forces nor NATO now have the targets to train their short-range missiles on, because the opposing forces are now separated by hundreds of miles, while the range of battlefield nukes does not exceed 150 kilometres.

The expediency of having sea-based intermediate-range nuclear weapons has long been a point of contention. Theoreticians believe that an exchange of fire with the use of such weapons would only result in the mutual destruction of the belligerent navies without producing any military gains. Today two powerful arguments are combined: the end of the military confrontation rendered these weapons politically redundant, while technological progress made tactical naval forces useless.

I suppose some Soviet experts may find the zero option for naval short-range weapons unfair. First, the Soviet Union has more such weapons and a greater variety of them than the US. Second, the US may be said to benefit from the zero option thanks to the high-accuracy conventional weapons of the US Navy.

In this case, I believe, one has to make a choice: either to keep the dangerous, unreliable and outdated nukes, which can't be employed anyway for obvious reasons, or to equip the ground forces and the navy with the high-tech hardware they really need.

The question is whether we should do this given our present condition. Yes, we should. We cannot afford to keep and maintain nuclear scrap. We must keep only the weapons we really need.

In his address President Bush advanced confidence-building measures: the lifting of

Who beats who?

US non-strategic nuclear forces 7,922 carriers and 7,147 warheads, including

Type	No. deployed	Year deployed	Range (km)	No. in stockpile
Aircraft	1,300	...	1,060–2,400	1,800
Missiles:				
Pershing II	27	1983	1,790	0*
GLCM	120	1983	2,500	0*
Lance	100	1972	125	1,282
Artillery	4,700	1956	30	1,540
Naval systems:				
Carrier aircraft	850	...	1,000–1,800	1,350
Tomahawk SLCM	325	1984	2,500	325
ASW aircraft	500	...	1,160–3,800	850

* Destroyed under INF Treaty by June 1, 1991

Soviet non-strategic nuclear forces 13,759 carriers and 11,305 warheads, including

Aircraft	2,560	1962-84	700-12,800	3,100
Missiles:				
SS-1s	661	1965	300	1,370
FROG 3/5/7	370	1965	70	1,450
SS-21	300	1978	70	310
Artillery	7,000	1973-80	10-30	2,000
Naval systems:				
Aircraft	730	1966-89	630-4,000	1,360
Anti-ship cruise missiles	1,010	1960-81	65-550	434
Land-attack cruise missiles	136	1987	3,000	136
ASW missiles and torpedoes	945	1965-80	16-120	945
Air defense missiles	47	1961/67	32/37	200

Data from SIPRI Yearbook 1991

stand-by alert, and speedier implementation of the already agreed-on reductions. These are reasonable and responsible steps which fit the pattern of new relations of partnership between the USSR and the US. The Soviet Union should support them and reciprocate; the same applies to other directions specified by the American leader.

The White House also mentioned a radical reshaping of the nuclear buildup programme under way in the US. This measure is aimed at enhancing strategic stability. MIRV missiles will be removed from the arsenals, the development of mobile systems and strategic air-launched missiles will be halted. The only weapons system to be modernized will be the light single-warhead intercontinental ballistic missile. Preference will be given to the stabilizing weapons systems (slow-flying, single-warhead missiles, which can be recalled from their mission after launch).

This proposal by President Bush offers us a unique opportunity to reorganize our strategic forces on a reasonable basis. If we do this together with the United States we will thus strengthen mutual trust and our national security.

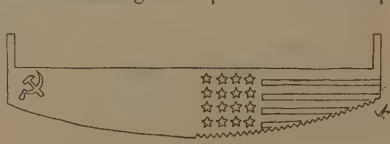
The greatest controversy is expected to arise from George Bush's call to take urgent and concrete measures for a limited deployment of non-nuclear systems of defence from limited missile attacks wherever such attacks may come from, without undermining the strength of the existing deterrence potential.

The statement refers to the resumption of the R&D effort in the context of the Strategic Defence Initiative declared by Ronald Reagan, which was the subject of lengthy and largely scholastic debates between Soviet and American delegations at the disarmament talks.

I think the time has come to thoroughly analyze this question in light of the new realities. If modern technologies make it possible to destroy a missile coming to Moscow or Kiev without any great damage, why not develop such technologies and be waiting for a hit instead?

It is high time we understood that technological progress is irreversible, especially in the arms production sphere. It is time we started to think about how to make technological achievements work for national security.

Proceeding from the recently concluded START Treaty we could warn the Americans that we will not be eliminating any missiles as long as they continue SDI research.

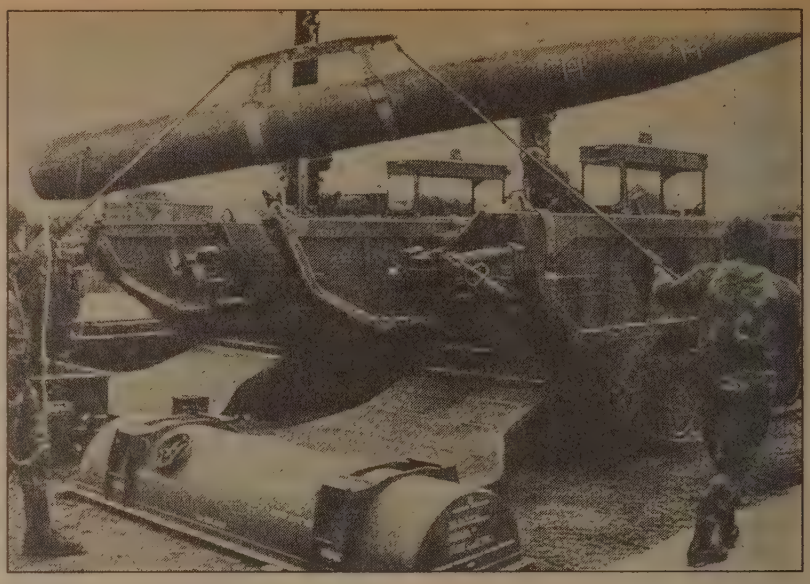


I believe that this formula made its way into the treaty from the Cold War era and became the subject of a compromise. Under the new circumstances we need to seek a new compromise that would enable us to avoid the contradiction between technological progress and outdated thinking. We are no longer adversaries. We have exchanged statements to this effect. Why do we continue to suspect that steps taken by one side are aimed at placing the other one at a disadvantage? Who is going to object to the fact that the superpowers share the common interest of preventing terrorist attacks against them coming from a third party? That means that we can and must cooperate, share technologies and scientific achievements.

There is one more aspect. SDI elements can be used for the solution of such global problems as ecological monitoring, early warning of natural calamities and an effective navigation service.

I remember how James Baker and I once suggested that the moment would come when our countries began negotiating joint creation of weapons systems.

No, not even the most comprehensive plan for the reshaping of strategic forces can cover all the aspects of the problem. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union will find something to add to the Bush plan. For example, the problem of halting nuclear testing is already ripe for solving. It would be useful to start cooperating in making our arsenals safer. These and many other problems are bound to arise at the talks, but I am sure solutions and mutually acceptable compromises will be found.



The Lance on the way out

Photo from US News and World Report (US)

Now I would like to express my personal foreign political assessment of the Bush initiative.

The main thing for me is that this initiative develops and consolidates the policy of partnership and interaction in Soviet-American relations. No such initiative was possible in the past. It only looks natural on the basis of all the recent positive changes. We have been erecting this mountain together for a long time and now we can ascend to see the new vistas that inspire faith and optimism.

One more thing. Soviet foreign policy has sort of lost its focus recently. There are several reasons for this. The renewed focus of our policy on truely historical ideas, expressed by President Bush on September 28, 1991, gives the necessary aims and missions to our policy. Both nations will benefit from this.

I was one of the people who five years ago heard accusations of being naive in connection with the idea of a non-nuclear world. The Bush statement strengthens my confidence that one day mankind will be freed from nuclear weapons. ■

The United States beats the Soviets in disarmament

Nuclear striptease? OK, but don't get dressed after the show

Galina Sidorova,
NT political analyst

The United States has scored a victory over the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere. It was only recently that Moscow mildly lectured President Bush for his reduced interest in what has traditionally been the most exciting aspect of Soviet-American relations: military issues. There was even a rumour that the Americans were not really very concerned about the superpower shell game as the United States was approaching elections...

President Bush has made the most significant decision in the past few years, a decision that will drastically change US defence strategies. The Bush initiative has shown that Washington is able to get rid of the dogmas and find non-traditional solutions.

In addition to the unilateral elimination of US tactical ground-based nukes and the removal of tactical sea-based nukes from US warships worldwide, the US President also suggested that the superpowers start negotiations on the elimination of MIRV missiles and voiced readiness to give up MX missiles altogether. In an unprecedented gesture, the US President removed strategic bombers from their round-the-clock patrols and sent the nukes stripped from the planes back to depots. At some US Air Force bases this decision was celebrated with champagne.

Obviously, it is not a mere coincidence that Bush's plan was not announced in the United Nations, because it is mainly addressed to the other superpower, the Union of Sovereign Run-Away Republics.

During his recent visit to Moscow, Secretary of State James Baker never missed an opportunity to stress that the United States was very concerned about control over the Soviet nuclear force and the future of the nuclear arsenal across the vast Soviet expanses. At the Moscow negotiations the Soviet side promptly abandoned its Cuban and Afghan allies and both federal and republican representatives hastened to pressure the Secretary of State into promising as much US aid as possible. It was Moscow's approach to the military problems as something almost resolved and secondary that worried the Americans. The US worries intensified as the Ukraine and Kazakhstan abandoned their plans for a non-nuclear future and challenged Russia, interpreting the latter's actions as an attempt to usurp the entire nuclear potential of the USSR. It turned out that the newly independent republics were not at all opposed to retaining their nuclear status for the sake of greater political prestige and influence – a complex shared by many of the smaller members of the Nuclear Club.

The American peace offensive makes it necessary to reconsider Soviet foreign political priorities. Should we, for instance, remove the disarmament problem from our list of priorities in the international arena?

Foreign economic problems now dominate this country's foreign political efforts – this is natural in the context of the current economic plight in the USSR, although such an approach to world politics may seem too vulgarly commercial: the republics have already joined the catfight for Western billions.

Undoubtedly, during a political and economic crisis special attention must constantly be paid to human rights.

The confusion with foreign political priorities is aggravated by some republics' efforts to distance themselves from the traditional mainstream of Sovit foreign policy. In Russia, for instance, the republican leadership is eagerly looking to the East, in particular, Japan, clearly signalling Russia's readiness to strike a grand bargain over the four disputed islands, although without any far-reaching strategy for the post-bargain relations between Russia and Japan. The Foreign Ministry of Russia is more oriented towards Europe and the United States. How are the republics going to coordinate their often antagonistic foreign political interests between each other and with the centre of the future commonwealth?

The Americans seem to understand the dangers of this confusion and first and foremost concerned about their own interests, they came to our rescue by presenting a way to do away with the dangerous and money-guzzling legacy of the Cold War, to clear the road towards totally new political and economic relations in the world community and inside the future Soviet commonwealth. Mikhail Gorbachev's cautious and inconcrete initial reaction to the US initiative surprised Washington. It seems that Gorbachev's cautious response was due both to lingering pessimism about the initiatives of the adversary, even yesterday's adversary, and to the absence of an effective mechanism for making foreign political decisions in the country, where the old relations are already destroyed and new ones have not yet appeared. How much time will it take in the future to coordinate political decisions between the Big President and the team of his republican colleagues? And what if the decision had to be made immediately?

The United States has beaten us. Washington used the Soviet Union's weakness and showed us how to turn weakness into strength. The United States challenged us for what only recently could be viewed as an absurd competition. Frankly speaking, competing in nuclear striptease looks far more attractive than sweating it out in endless nuclear race.

A military expert's opinion

The US President's initiative fits the context of the general Western disarmament policy. The Soviet military doctrine must be radically changed in this connection, of course. It is necessary to drop the defence sufficiency doctrine and accept the doctrine of cooperation with the West. The main aspect of such a new doctrine must be significant reductions and future elimination of weapons, including nuclear ones. The necessity of Soviet cooperation with the West is also dictated by the geopolitical shift of the military threat to the USSR from the West to the South, as was clearly demonstrated by the Persian Gulf crisis. I believe that the leaders of the USSR and Russia can give an adequate answer to the Bush initiative, the more so as a corresponding reduction of Soviet nukes will not make the USSR weaker than the United States, as far as the quality of the remaining nuclear armaments is concerned. Another variant – a large-scale reduction of conventional armaments – is also possible.

Yuri Deryugin, **expert, State Committee of Russia for Defence Matters**

The West turns down the Soviet demand for control

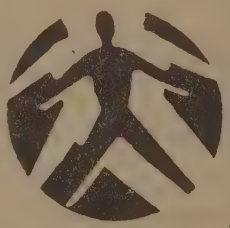
The Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension has completed its work. The Soviet stance at the conference was unacceptable again. This time the Soviets have gone too far

Sergey Kovalyov,
Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of the Supreme Soviet of Russia

Each delegation attending the CSCE Conferences has clear instructions from its government as to which position it must assume and which proposals it must make. At the end of July – beginning of August of this year similar instructions were worked out for the Soviet delegation as well. The instructions, written in the spirit of the Vienna and Copenhagen concluding documents and the Paris Charter For a New Europe, abounded in florid general expressions, but also contained recommendations to avoid or to obstruct the discussion of some agenda items, referring to the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. In effect, this was a return to the stance the Soviets had always taken at international fora. The initial draft of the instructions was rejected by the leadership and parliament of Russia, and Russia said it would not take part in the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. The ultimatum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia could have been accepted, especially as it was supported by the Union Foreign Ministry whose staff negotiators usually make up the bulk of Soviet delegations at such conferences. It is difficult to say whether Russia's stance would have been honoured: after the August putsch all of Russia's demands were immediately satisfied. As we worked out the final version of the instructions for the Soviet delegation, we had an opportunity to formulate our position on concrete issues to be discussed at the conference proceeding from our own ideas, the law, and the international commitments of the Soviet Union.

As a result, the Soviet delegation arrived at the conference with a package of proposals which consisted of three main points. First, it is necessary to set up effective mechanisms of CSCE control. Second, it is necessary to pay attention to the procedure of and control over the imposition of a state of emergency (a painful question for the Soviet side to be sure). Third , we believed it is necessary to enhance the role and the status of public organizations in the CSCE process.

So far, the results of such international conferences on the human dimension have been as follows: the participating states proclaimed some international principles and declared their readiness to observe those principles in their policies and law-making and to implement them in their countries. In other words, delegations used to come up with declarations of intentions, which were not legally binding on the participating states. All the basic principles have been proclaimed in recent years in such documents as the concluding documents of the Vienna and Copenhagen Conferences and the Paris Charter For a New Europe. It was difficult to expect the Moscow Conference to add anything new to what has already been achieved. At the same time, despite a number of declarations, the situation with the issues relating to the control over the observance of the declared principles remains unsolved.



The Soviet proposal at the Moscow Conference stipulated establishing control posts or the office of observers, reporters and independent mediators posted in countries notorious for massive and systematic human rights abuses. The Soviet delegation also suggested that states be denied the right to refuse to accomodate a control mission.

The Soviet delegation also supported the German proposal which included two aspects which were quite new for the CSCE process: the question of sanctions against the states violating human rights and the question of consensus. The essence of the German proposal was as follows: in the event of systematic and massive human rights abuses in any CSCE state, other CSCE participants have the right to take any measures, including economic sanctions, against the perpetrator. It is evident that in this case there can be no consensus which now is the basic principle of decision-making at CSCE conferences: hardly any state would vote for the imposition of sanctions against itself.

If these proposals had been accepted, the Helsinki process would have developed a radically new aspect: it would have obtained a control mechanism that has thus far not existed.

The Soviet proposal on the regime of a state of emergency was based on the UN principles and a number of national legislations concerning the imposition of a state of emergency. The underlying principle was that of the inviolability of basic rights and freedoms which must be observed in any emergency situation. Besides, the Soviet proposal was based on the principle of parliamentary control over an emergency situation, the procedure of informing the world community about the imposition of a state of emergency and international control over the situation.

The third Soviet proposal suggested the enhancement of the role and status of public organizations in the Helsinki process. So far all CSCE Conferences included what was known as parallel events at which the public had an opportunity to hold meetings and disputes in the city-host of the Conference. However, in this case public organizations had little or no chance to influence the Conference decisions: according to the procedure the Conference does not discuss documents and viewpoints of public organizations.

Meanwhile, there is another mechanism through which the public can participate in the international process. For example, some public organizations, including Amnesty International, the International League of Human Rights, and several religious organizations enjoy the status of UN consultants. They have the right to attend the sitting of the corresponding UN commissions, to speak at plenary sittings and to participate in discussions. At the same time, they are not privileged to vote. The Soviet side suggested that some public organizations be granted similar status and rights. In my opinion, this measure is absolutely necessary, because public organizations are very sensitive to human rights violations and even slight tendencies toward such violations. Sometimes the reaction of public organizations is too emotional, but it is necessary as a warning to governments.

However, a paradoxical situation took shape at the Moscow Conference. The experience of earlier CSCE conferences has made us used to seeing Western delegations voicing concern about the human rights situation in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet side rejecting "the slanderous fabrications." This time, the sides changed places. The Soviet delegation said the Soviet Union was open for criticism. The main idea of the speeches made at the Conference by the Soviet Foreign Minister, a chief negotiator, Yury Deryabin and me was that the Soviet side was well aware of the complicated situation with human rights in the USSR and needed assistance, advice and even pressure. This produced quite a shock in the audience. I was told later that one member of the Swiss delegation feared that "Soviet secret police" would remove me right from the speaker's platform during my speech.

It might seem that the Soviet proposals gave the West a unique opportunity to come up with its own proposals that could guarantee the irreversibility of the changes. The main obstacle in the way of international control and humanitarian interference was removed. However, the actual reaction was the opposite of what had been expected. One by one Soviet proposals were either rendered meaningless or even rejected. It was the Western delegations that rejected the proposed opportunity to maintain effective international control over the human rights situation in CSCE states.

It is difficult to explain why this happened. Everybody understands that the human rights situation is much better in Western countries than in the Soviet Union. Logically, the measures proposed by the Soviet Union would be intended mainly to end human rights violations in this country. In addition to international control, Western countries are scrutinized by domestic human rights organizations and the press.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

I understand that Western delegations worked at the Conference under entirely different conditions. The Soviet Union actually received a *carte blanche*. As for the Western delegations, they had to coordinate their actions with governments and foreign ministries while the diplomatic procedure remains staunchly resistant to change.

Besides, Western countries have well-balanced and time-tested legislation which will have to be adjusted to the new international commitments. This is a difficult and time-consuming work. It is not an easy task to explain to members of parliament in some Western country that they have to change the existing legislation because some delegation at some conference undertook some obligations.

I had an interesting conversation with a member of the Swedish delegation about this. We discussed the Soviet proposal of control over the imposition of a state of emergency. The Swede objected to my observations pointing out that the Swedish constitution allows elections to be held under a state of emergency. "Can you remember the last time a state of emergency was imposed in Sweden?" I asked. The Swede thought for quite a while and then said that there had been no such event in his lifetime and he thought no state of emergency had ever been imposed in Sweden. I had to tell him about the results of the recent elections in Azerbaijan held under the conditions of a state of emergency...

Whatever motives could be mentioned to explain the Western stance at the Moscow Conference, the fact remains: the West did not accept the Soviet proposals, or wasn't prepared to accept them. This is quite upsetting, bearing in mind that the Moscow Conference had offered great opportunities. It is time states forgot all the empty words about the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. When it comes to human rights, interference is necessary. However, such interference must be civilized and, logically, a civilized mechanism of such interference must be created. Now the situation looks as if Moscow asked for Western control over the human rights situation in the USSR, and the West refused.

CLASSIFIED

● *Would you like to have your own company representative office in Kiev? We offer:*
—your own office with communication systems and secretarial staff;
—conference hall (350 people), display room;
—access to databases and other services.

Please contact us in Kiev
Tel.: (044) 211-97-15, 213-84-79
Fax: (044) 213-23-40
SOVIET-CANADIAN JOINT VENTURE "MDM-UKRAINE"

● *Attention: managers of small-scale and joint venture companies; integrated scientific, technological, industrial, and commercial centres; cooperative companies, ad-hoc artistic associations; business entrepreneurs in the USSR and abroad. New Times readers want to have your suggestions about commodities services, ideas, technologies, new developments in any sphere of production, business, construction, medicine, economic management, the arts, agriculture, handicrafts, sports, finances, etc.*
The Новое Время — Design

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ
DESIGN

advertising and marketing agency offers you space in the "Classified" section which is featured in our Russian, English and German editions.
For detailed information, dial: 209-92-82, or 209-76-52 in Moscow, or send us a fax message at: 200-42-23, or telex: 411164 b newt SU

● *Advertisement rates in New Times:*
—Full-page (184x249), black-and-white — $1,500
—Bottom half-page (125x184), black-and-white — $750
—Two thirds of a page (128x249), black-and-white — $1,000
—Quarter-page (128x128), black-and-white — $500
—Bottom page (64x184), black-and-white — $500
—One third of a page (64x249), black-and-white — $500
—2nd cover (205x280), full-colour — $2,000
—3rd cover (205x280), full-colour — $2,000
—4th cover (205x280), full-colour — $3,000
Ads in the "Classified" section — $210
Our address:
Pushkinskaya Pl., Moscow, GSP 103782 USSR
Tel.: 209-92-82, 209-76-52
Fax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

What next?

The Prime Minister has retired

For three days last week more than eight thousand miners from the Valea Jiului region, joined by Bucharest residents, wrought havoc on the capital. They attacked one government institution after another and demanded the resignation of the National Salvation Front government and Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

On Tuesday the first group of miners disembarked from seized train cars, having ransacked the railroad stations at Petrosani and Craiova along the way, and assembled on the square in front of the government buildings. When the Prime Minister refused to come out and talk with the demonstrators (he correctly assumed that it was impossible to speak with three thousand people at once), the miners countered with the refusal to send representatives to negotiate. At that point they began storming the government buildings and continued for several hours. In the following days the parliament, television centre and presidential palace Cotroceni were also attacked. Rocks and bottles of gasoline were used. Forces sent to maintain order responded with tear gas.

This is the fourth time since the overthrow of the Ceaucescu regime in December 1989 that the miners have come to Bucharest. June of last year is an especially painful memory for the residents of the capital. It was at that time that the miners helped those in power break the resistance of the opposition and clear University Square of participants in an almost two-month-long marathon demonstration which contended the legality of the selection of the country's leadership. The headquarters of the leading opposition parties were ransacked. The total damage was estimated at over half a million lei. Then the miners abandoned Bucharest with thanks from the president.

Believing that the preservation of the present power structures depends on them, the miners demanded privileges and relatively easily received them. But this could not continue endlessly, what with the acute economic crisis, liberalization of prices, increasing unemployment, and difficulties in supplying food and desperately needed goods. So this time the miners decided to overthrow the country's leadership.

One of their goals had been achieved. Confronted with the rampage in the streets, Petre Roman and his cabinet resigned. The Prime Minister announced that this decision had been made because "for various reasons those in power were unable to act as was necessary to end the disorder and to defend the government structures and the property and rights of citizens."

In Romania many now ask if the miners' actions were perhaps premeditated. Many people, including Roman himself, are inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. The miners came to Bucharest with economic demands, chanting "No violence!" And on that very day they attacked the government buildings. When their leader Miron Cozma, chairman of the league of the Free Trade Unions of Valea Jiului, reported the resignation of the government and called for the miners to leave Bucharest, a significant portion of them announced, "We aren't leaving." The attack on the television centre was senseless. The assault on the presidential palace was undertaken immediately following a meeting with Iliescu during which he assured the miners that he would personally see to the fulfillment of all their demands.

It is thougt that the miners were used to provoke an immediate and open display of the discontent of the population. As soon as the first explosions of tear gas grenades were heard, thousands of Bucharest residents, mainly youth, were transformed from passive spectators to active participants in the confusion, driving the miners to the background. The number of victims confirms this. Within three days 315 people were treated at medical facilities, and only eight of these people were miners. In addition there were vandals and robbers cleaning out the stores on the sly.

The forces sent to keep order were not given to logical explanations and actions. Nothing was done to prevent the miners' invasion of Bucharest. At the government buildings and at the television centre the crowds raged unchecked for several hours, and only as night fell was any action taken by units brought in to end the disorder, and in a matter of minutes they had dispersed the attackers. The parliament's security offered no resistance to the demonstrators. Nor was there timely prevention of the attack on the presidential palace.

The miners left Bucharest, having created more problems than there were earlier. Condemning their actions, leaders of various political parties and movements all agree that the resignation of the National Salvation Front government was necessary. The nucleus of the political struggle has now shifted to the presidential palace where consultations have begun with leaders of opposition parties represented in the parliament and with other political forces about the formation of a government of national concord. But as one would expect, opinions are divided. The National Salvation Front firmly speaks out for a government which would be in line with the actual alignment of forces in the parliament, an early adoption of a new constitution and the holding of general elections. Opposition forces refuse to cooperate with the Front and speak in favour of forming a government of technocrats and appointing an independent premier. The future will show whether or not Romania will see the continuation of the process of the democratic development of society and the implementation of reforms aimed at realizing a market economy.

Victor Pismarov,
our own correspondent

BUCHAREST.

TASS photo

Our new correspondent in Bucharest, Victor Pismarov, has begun work. 53 years old, he has worked for TASS as the correspondent in Romania, and for Progress Publishers. Now he is working for *NT*, and we offer you his first article.

The legends of Zionism

Of all the reports concerning the Middle East I would like to pay special attention to the statements issued by US President Bush and UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar calling for the abolition of Resolution No. 3379 adopted by the 30th UN General Assembly on November 10, 1975. The resolution condemns Zionism as a form of racism.

I remember the joyful enthusiasm that marked the Soviet Union's official reaction to this resolution. However, thinking people could not help wondering against which particular race the Jews were fighting. The Jews are hospitable to the black Falashe people and have never conflicted with the Red Indians or the Asians. As for the Arabs, they are Semites, i.e., one race with the Jews.

Dmitry Zgersky

Actually, Zionism has nothing in common with racism. The term "Zionism" means Jews' yearning to assemble on sacred Mount Zion, a symbol of Israel. This is quite a natural desire of a nation to come together in its own state. The Arabs have an argument against it, though. They say that no nation has the right to set up a state on territory belonging to another nation. In this connection one fact has to be recalled, which is unpleasant for the Arabs. Some lands in Palestine have belonged to the Jewish nation from time immemorial. Jewish territory was extended after Palestinian Arabs sold some of their land to the Jews. No one compelled Arabs to sell out their native land – they did so willingly. After that many Arabs wasted the money thus earned in Beirut becoming, as a result, "unfortunate refugees." Those who doubt the accuracy of this fact are advised to read what the Palestine author, Hassan Kanafani, wrote about the selling of lands. As for the military occupation of Palestininan lands, it did take place in 1948, but the occupiers were Jordan and Egypt, not Israel.

For decades, official Soviet propaganda spared no effort to depict the Arabs as good guys and the Jews as bad guys in the Middle East conflict. The logic of this approach is defective. The unfortunate hundred-million-strong Arab population and its Gargantuan armies were doomed to suffer from the unending Zionist aggression and to be defeated by the small four-million-strong State of Israel which can be crossed by foot in some three hours of easy walking.

Israel was proclaimed an independent state in May 1948 on the basis of a UN resolution, which clearly specified the borders of the new state. Had the Arab countries honoured the decisions of the world community and recognized the legitimacy of the State of Israel, no problems would have arisen in the region, and the Middle East would have long ago become an oasis of peace and prosperity. The bulk of the responsibility for the existing situation is on the Arab side which had refused to leave Israel alone.

The impotency of the unjust cause made the Arab countries resort to propaganda lies. The most fertile ground for those lies was the totalitarian Soviet regime, under which the Soviet people were isolated from objective information about world events. Prior to the adoption of the above-mentioned UN resolution, the CPSU Central Committee instructed the Soviet propaganda machine to use every opportunity to condemn Zionism. Orders from the Party were not to be disobeyed; as for the Arab friends of the USSR, they immediately started supplying anti-Zionist material. Zionists were condemned as racists, bandits, butchers, fascists, etc. Some heavily indoctrinated Jews even established an "anti-Zionist Committee."

Horrifying information was readily available every day: Zionists opened fire on children (one can envision innocent babies on a playground and Israeli brutes spraying them with machine-gun fire). No one suspected that the "children" were 20-year-old guys who provoked fire by hurling stones at the Israelis and killing two soldiers. There were many hair-raising reports about the Israelis' poisoning wells in Arab villages, or gassing 200 Palestinian schoolchildren. Sometimes international commissions set out to the Middle East on fact-finding missions, and every time such reports proved to be one hundred percent false. Was there actually any reason why Israel should have committed crimes and face an international inquiry for them?

No nationalist idea has been slandered as much as Zionism

No cause that needs to be shored up by lies can be a just one. It is difficult to believe in the widespread concept of "Zionist lies," because unlike most Arab nations, Israel is a free and democratic state where Arabs enjoy more rights than in many Arab countries. Many Arabs have become millionaires in Israel. Arabs are setting up opposition parties, publish Arab newspapers, get elected to the Knesset, where they harshly criticize the Israeli government and never get persecuted for this. In this context no "Zionist lies" are possible – the Communist Party of Israel, for one, would immediately speak up against them.

"Once a liar always a liar." In the Soviet Union, lies about Israel and Zionism are readily consumed only by the anti-Semites, while normal people take the reports about "Zionist atrocities" with a grain of salt. Yes, Israelis shoot and kill. But when one hurls a stone at a Jew or an incendiary bomb on an Israeli army truck, one has to expect retaliation: á la guerre comme á la guerre.

The bitter experience of years-old misinformation makes us sceptical about what seemed to be Gospel truths. In his memories, Menachem Begin calls the unprecedented Zionist massacre in the Arab village of Deir Yassin, in which he personally participated, a cruel provocation carried out by Arab soldiers. Much can be doubted today, but a happier solution would be to bury the memories of what keeps the Arab-Israeli conflict burning. It is obvious that the UN resolution, which insults the whole nation and was imposed by an unjust majority, has to be repealed.

Feud between Xhosas and Zulus, whites vs. whites

One more peace agreement has been signed in Johannesburg. Many doubt, however, that it will put an end to the war between blacks

I had occasion to be in Soweto, the black suburb of Johannesburg inhabited mainly by Xhosas from whom the African National Congress draws its support, and then in the settlements of Kwazulu – the territory inhabited by Zulus, who support the Inkatha. I saw burnt houses and fresh graves.

A Zulu by himself does not bear a grudge against a Xhosa, and vice versa. Nevertheless, members of both tribes are being killed every day. As many as 129 people were killed and more than 600 wounded during the week before representatives of 29 political, government, trade union and religious organizations met in Johannesburg to sign a peace agreement.

Who is to blame for this bloodshed? There are several explanations for the violent clashes between Xhosas and Zulus.

The first, and widespread, version lays the blame on the right forces, the army and police leaders in particular. It claims that they provoke clashes and kindle nationalist sentiments and tribalist discord. However, after meetings with Adriaan Vlok, former minister of law and order, I came to believe that intertribal conflicts are not instigated by the police. Indeed, why should the police kindle fire in order to extinguish it at the price of their own lives?

Adriaan Vlok once noted wittily: "We want our opponents from the black community to join the government as soon as possible. At present they criticize us from without. Under different circumstances, they will have to assume responsibility for all the events in the country, including clashes in black communes."

The speeches and appeals of Andries Treurnicht, head of the Conservative Party of South Africa, evoke a different response in the country. As a result of the irreconcilable stand taken by his followers, blood is being shed not only during clashes between blacks but also within the white community. For instance, eight Boers were killed during a "white attack" on the President and mass clashes with the police in Ventersdorp. In the opinion of Dr. Treurnicht, the blacks must not be allowed to take part in running the country, because this can lead to economic dislocation and civil war.

Others explain clashes between blacks by the dispute between the two main hostile groups who began to divide political power before acquiring it. The reasoning is clear. The African National Congress does not conceal that it wants to play the main part in negotiations on the future non-racial system of South Africa. The Inkatha leaders declare, however, that they do not want anybody else to represent their interests, because they can do that themselves.

There are also those who put the blame for tribal bloodshed on the government. This charge has been readily used by left and right elements, and by centrists. However, I shall dare stand up for President Frederik de Klerk, who repeatedly

ANC combatants preparing for a fight against their opponents from the Inkatha

Nelson Mandela, Frederik de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi share the burden of responsibility

met with Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha and invited them to take part in a multiparty conference that would formulate the basic principles of a non-racial, democratic system for South Africa. When preparations for the conference were completed, Nelson Mandela unexpectedly demanded the resignation of leading ministers and in this way virtually torpedoed the forum. President de Klerk found the courage to work out a reasonable compromise with the ANC, though he had to withstand fierce attacks on the part of the right-wing opposition among the whites. They continued to threaten him later, too. Nevertheless, he initiated the latest peace conference as well.

Should the President be judged so severely? Perhaps he should be offered cooperation and assistance in the complex period of reforming the country.

The significance of the latest agreement is obviously great. However, there is no hope of bringing about a reconciliation in the near future. The legacy of apartheid still makes itself felt. The fraternizing between Mandela and Buthelezi was a moving ceremony. Nevertheless, the "tug of war" between the two leaders continues. Sometimes it escalates into a "war of words" between them and fierce clashes between their followers. There is a glimmer of hope, however. President de Klerk and his partners who share the political responsibility for the future of South Africa are making difficult steps towards each other.

Nikolai Reshetnyak,
our own correspondent
PRETORIA–JOHANNESBURG

Photos by the author and from Der Spiegel (Germany)

Don't want to miss out on the Soviet market?

Advertise in the USSR in *NEW TIMES*

● for more information contact the advertising and marketing agency Новое Время Design

● Our address: Pushkinskaya Sq., GSP Moscow, 103782, USSR
Tel.: 209-76-52, 209-92-82, tlx: 411164a newt SU, 411164b newt SU. Fax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92.

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ

The Yazov connection

Did the former Soviet defence minister approve the deliveries of arms for the Yugoslav People's Army?

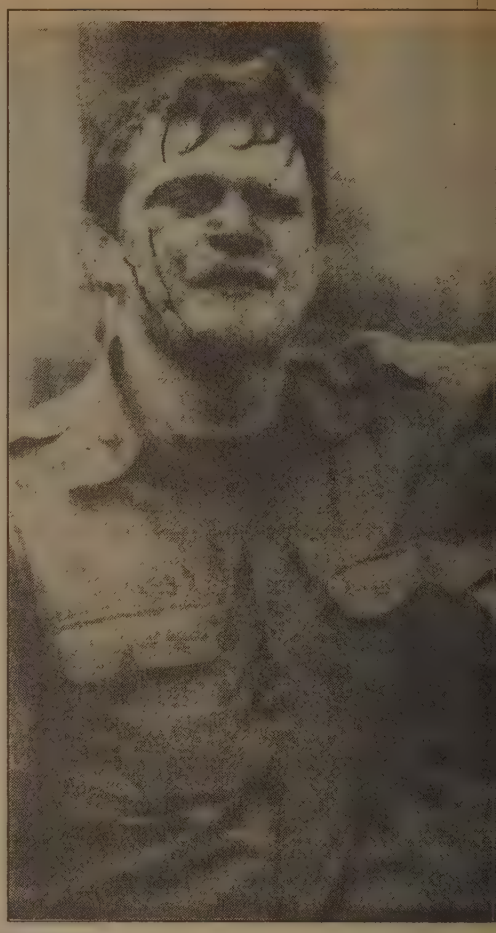
The past week has brought us a sensation. At the cabinet meeting the head of the Yugoslav government accused his minister of defence, General Veljko Kadievic, of negotiating without his knowledge deliveries of large quantities of arms from the USSR during Kadievic's Moscow visit last March. According to Ante Markovic (as quoted from the verbatim report by the weekly *Vreme)* he learned about it during his stay in Moscow.

"The Soviet officials," he said, "took me aside and asked me whether I knew about an order for a large quantity of Soviet arms. I was completely in the dark about it. I had been told about the purchases of some spare parts, but it was from my Russian colleagues that I found out about the order for new airplanes, missile systems and helicopters."

Meanwhile, the Defence Ministry refuted Ante Markovic's allegation stating that in March Veljko Kadievic had an ordinary working meeting with the then Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov. It was also emphasized that the purchases of arms were not even mentioned at the meeting. But this is not the end of the story of the Yazov connection.

The conflict between the head of the Yugoslav government and the military top brass began some time ago. The main stumbling block is the role of the Yugoslav People's Army in the present inter-Yugoslav war. Ante Markovic has accused the army of losing its all-Yugoslav character and of siding with Serbs. He demanded the resignation of the defence minister and his first deputy Stane Brovet.

And indeed, Ante Markovic has cause to be discontented: the army is gradually getting out of control and is acting more and more independently. To a certain degree, this situation is caused by the absence in Yugoslavia of the supreme state leadership and, consequently, of the Supreme Commander of the Yugoslav People's Army. The country's Collective Presidency is only imitating leadership, rather than carrying it out in practice. Few people heed its voice. And its President Stipe Mesic, states bluntly that after October 7 (the expiration date of the three-month moratorium on the decisions of the Yugoslav republics to secede) he is going to resign, because Yugoslavia will cease to exist. As for the government, it is not at all able to run its own country and under the law does not have the right to be in charge of the army.



The more arms, the more victims
Photos by TASS and from the newspaper Zeit (Germany)

The assertions that the Yugoslav People's Army is siding with Serbs are not groundless. The army prefers to preserve its all-Yugoslavian status and is actively cooperating with Serbian detachments. The point is that other republics one after another refuse to provide it with financial assistance and reinforcements, while Serbia has unequivocally expressed its support.

In the current situation one has to define his position whether he likes it or not. The war has become a fact of life. Local clashes escalate into general armed confict with more and more regions being drawn into it. The republics are switching their economies over to military production. General mobilization has not been declared yet, but more and more vans with reservists are being sent to the regions of hostilities by both sides. Zagreb, the Croatian capital, has imposed martial law, bristled up with hedgehogs and superseded the rythms of variety tunes by bravura marches and the howling of airraid sirens. The war has been making itself felt in Belgrade, too: first with thousands of refugees, and now with bomb explosions in the capital's restaurants.

It should also be pointed out that with its anti-army propaganda, constant attacks on army units and blockades of the barracks, Croatia itself saw to it that the Yugoslav People's Army was driven off to the Serbian positions, a step which did not, by the way, meet with the approval of foreign observers.

It seems that Europe has despaired of doing something clever and effective to pacify the country. From time to time European politicians and diplomats succeed in bringing the representatives of the quarrelling parties to a "round table" meeting. Television floodlights and the stern looks of European emmisaries make the reluctant republican leaders sign ceasefire agreements.

But after their departure all the arrangements immediately acquire various conditions put forward by both parties. After each signing of a truce, the fighting becomes even more violent. And what is worse, each cancelled truce devaluates still further the idea of mediation for the sake of concord among the Yugoslavs.

The fact that for a long time the army and the Croatian leaders have not been able to find a common language leads one to assume that up to a certain point neither of the sides had a vital stake in the ceasefire. The army did not want to reconcile itself to the blockade of its units once the strategic initiative was in its hands. And the Croatian leaders evidently thought that the more the Yugoslav People's Army was drawn into the Serbo-Croatian conflict, the more specious would Croatia's position seem to foreign countries and the easier it would be to secure their recognition of its independence.

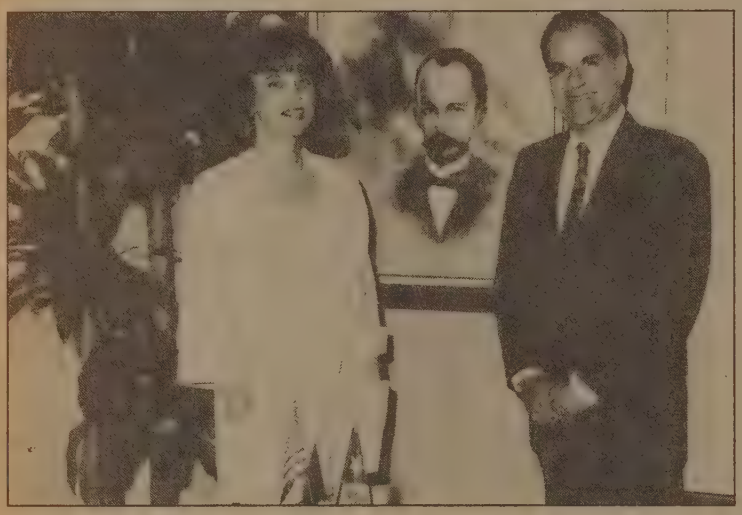
Yet these hopes have not been justified. To all appearances, Croatia had to admit that it was suffering defeats on all the fronts, ceding parts of its territory each day. And the republic had to sign an agreement. With Europe looking on, the Yugoslav People's Army could not fail to demonstrate its readiness for the truce either.

Yet the truce turned out to be a fragile one. The army has carried out its duties, the Croatian side has not. The reason for this can be partly found in the fact that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman does not exercise control over a great number of the Croatian military units, whose commanders refuse to recognize any authority. If this is understood by the Europeans, it is hardly approved of.

It makes no sense to foretell the development of the aforementioned conflicts, including the strife between the head of the government and the military top brass, in the ethnic enmity-maddened Yugoslavia. But it is clear that all external forces should use every opportunity for peacemaking and avoid any actions that may aggravate the situation like, for example, a secret delivery of arms.

Gennady Sysoyev,
Our own correspondent
BELGRADE

"Neither socialism nor death"



Talk with a prospective candidate to the presidential post in Cuba

Jorge Mas Canosa heads the National Cuban-American Fund (NCAF), the largest organization of Cuban emigrants in the United States. *New Times* special correspondent **Yelena GOROVAYA** talked with **Mas CANOSA** in his Miami office decorated with photographs of Reagan and Bush and also a portrait of Cuba's national hero Jose Marti, whose name is inscribed on the banners of Fidel Castro, too.

The NCAF chairman recently paid an unofficial visit to Moscow where he met with notable Soviet politicians, confidentially so far...

Yelena Gorovaya. How large is the Cuban community in the United States and what is the NCAF's influence on it?

Jorge Mas Canosa. The Cuban community in the world numbers around two million. Roughly one and a half million live in the United States and 900,000 of them in Florida. The NCAF has more than 50,000 members, those who pay dues, and a total of 120,000 Cubans actively cooperate with it. Never in its history has Cuba had a political organization with such a broad social base.

Ye.G. What about the Communist Party of Cuba?

J.M.C. It is a party of the privileged from whom no self-sacrifice is required.

Ye.G. How many organizations have been formed in the Cuban community in the United States?

J.M.C. There were many organizations in the past, and 10 to 12 have remained today.

Ye.G. It is for this reason that I asked about the NCAF's influence on the Cuban community.

J.M.C. We have 50,000 members and a budget of five million dollars a year. The second largest organization, the Patriotic Junta numbers 300 to 400 members and its budget runs to 10,000 dollars. The NCAF is not an amalgamation of emigrant groups. It has been set up as an independent organization. Among its members are also Cubans who fought against the Castro regime.

Ye.G. Did you take part in the armed struggle against the Castro regime?

J.M.C. Yes, I took part in the Bay of Pigs operation. Earlier, I fought against Batista and worked underground... After the establishment of the NCAF the strategy and policy of the Cuban emigration changed. The main thing is that we put an end to violent actions. The NCAF declared: enough violence and armed confrontation, we shall use civilized methods of struggle, we must win a political battle against Castro. We have achieved our purpose over the last ten years, thanks to the campaign we launched throughout the world. We depicted Castro the way he really is, as a dictator who violates the rights and freedoms of the Cuban people.

Ye.G. Did you produce arguments or were you guided by emotions?

J.M.C. We have plenty of arguments.

Ye.G. Here is an article containing charges against the NCAF. It appeared in the Soviet newspaper *Den* (Day). The article says that the main task of your organization is to "influence US policy with regard to Cuba" and stir up subversive activity against it. According to the article, the NCAF structure has a "secret para-military organization headed by well known terrorist Esteban Ventura, who carried out 15 bomb explosions in Miami. I also read an article in the *New York Times* with charges against you personally. It says that you were involved in the assassination of Orlando Letelier.*

J.M.C. One can see right away that the article in the Soviet newspaper *Den* was written by a Marxist because its author used methods typical of Marxism: half-lies and half-truths. Indeed, the NCAF tries to influence US policy with regard to Cuba. It would also like to influence Soviet policy, erroneous from our point of view, because the billions of rubles invested in Cuba could be used with much greater benefit for the Soviet people. We see no difference between the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Pinochet dictatorship, and the Castro dictatorship.

Ye.G. Did you oppose the Pinochet regime?

J.M.C. I have always opposed the Pinochet regime, and I came out against the Castro govern-

*Orlando Letelier was a minister in the Allende government in Chile. He was assassinated in Washington in 1976

ment for the same reasons. I think that international economic sanctions must be applied to Cuba for its violations of human rights and the denial of freedoms of its citizens. Such a measure was taken against South Africa by civilized countries, the Soviet Union and the United States included. So by advocating tougher economic sanctions against the communist government of Castro the NCAF does try to influence US policy. And it cannot be otherwise, because the charge brought against Havana is quite just.

The talk about the existence of a paramilitary organization in our structure is an absolute falsehood. Since its inception the Fund has not had and will not have a military wing. It is a civil organization. Esteban Ventura, he is the owner of a detective agency in Miami. There are quite a number of such agencies here. The NCAF has nothing to do with his agency, and I am not acquainted with Ventura either.

Ye.G. What about bomb explosions?

J.M.C. The NCAF was the first organization to have publicly censured the explosions in Miami. We strongly protested against any violence and asked the Miami police to investigate the matter thoroughly.

Ye.G. Do you suspect anyone in your organization of carrying out these explosions?

J.M.C. It is possible that bombs were exploded by Castro agents in Miami in order to have a pretext for accusing the Cuban emigration of terrorism.

Ye.G. Is it your supposition?

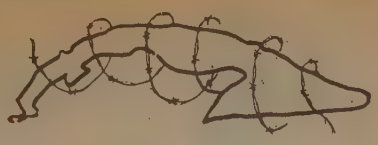
J.M.C. Yes. Now, about the article in the *New York Times*. One of the 50,000 members of the NCAF was indeed suspected of being involved in the assassination of Letelier. We do not check the record of a person who wants to join our organization. He merely sends his contribution and receives a membership card from us. The man suspected of murdering Letelier did the same. He was acquitted by the court. As far as I know, he ceased to pay his membership dues and is not a member of the Fund any longer.

Ye.G. How do you assess the degree of influence of the NCAF in Cuba, its image and authority?

J.M.C. The NCAF has its radio station, Voice of the Fund. Almost every fourth citizen of Cuba listens to its broadcasts. This means we have two to three million listeners. As far as I know, the NCAF and its leaders also enjoy the confidence of the upper crust of Cuba.

Ye.G. How do you understand the concept "upper crust"?

J.M.C. The upper crust is a class which enjoys privileges at the expense of the



people, that is, all the boons of the system, a class which leads the high life.**

Ye.G. So you believe that the fund has potential supporters in the government circles of Cuba. Officials in Havana cannot even give a hint of criticism of the regime, publicly in any case.

J.M.C. That's true. According to information received by us, officials in the higher echelons of power favour our fund and its plans and approve of our call for non-violence, mutual understanding and cordiality between all Cubans.

Ye.G. Do you also mean officials in the army, security and interior ministry bodies?

J.M.C. Certainly.

Ye.G. I would like to get more specific information about the situation in Cuba, about the level of unemployment and the scale of repressions there...

J.M.C. During the last 32 years at least half the population of Cuba has been subjected to repressions in one form or another. Unemployment is high, because employment is maintained artificially, with the help of subsidies. Currently 20 to 25 percent of the able-bodied population has no work because of the shortage of resources.

Ye.G. How would you assess the present situation in Cuba?

J.M.C. The situation is disastrous, and not only because of the state of the economy. There is something worse. Castro continues to repeat, "socialism or death." But socialism means death. The Cubans half of whom are under 30, wonder whether they will live better or whether their life will only worsen. That is why they say, "neither socialism nor death." That is why they are leaving their country. Every day dozens of Cubans reach the Florida coast on home-made rafts. Every fourth "traveller" loses his life on the way.***

Ye.G. What are the prospects for the near future?

J.M.C. Prospects are very favourable. We hope to create a system in Cuba under which the government will be completely decentralized and will not interfere in economic management.

Ye.G. How do you imagine Cuba in the post-Castro period?

J.M.C. We are convinced that Cuba can be revived without any assistance from without – from foreign governments or international organizations. In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe the restoration of the economy is connected with the difficult problem of dependence of foreign aid, though all the money of the world will not be enough for the economic revival of countries which have got rid of the communist system... The American Cubans pose the question in this way: no aid from the Soviet Union or the United States, or from any other country: those who help ask for reciprocal favours, he who pays also gives orders.

The experience of Cuban emigrants should be repeated in Cuba. Without any assistance and a single cent from the US government they have created a solid business network here. We want to revive Cuba exclusively with the help of private business. In this way we shall be able to retain our sovereignty and shall not depend on Moscow or Washington. That is why our programme envisages only private capital investment, the drawing of foreign capital on a wide scale, with Cubans having their share in business. We want to transform Cuba from a land of proletarians into a land of proprietors. One more thing: on returning to Cuba the emigrants will not have the right to get their homes back. They belong to those who live in them now.

Ye.G. Is this point recorded in the NCAF's programme?

J.M.C. It is certainly recorded in our programme. At the same time we consider it necessary to form commissions that would determine the lawful owners of enterprises and other property in Cuba. However, this property is not to be returned to its former owners. If their rights are confirmed they will be paid compensation depending on the possibilities of the state.

Ye.G. But if the state finds it impossible to pay compensation, as is the situation today, for instance?

J.M.C. There will be no compensation then... I think, however, that possibilities will be found. In the first 18 months only Cuba will be able to earn 15 to 20 billion dollars from the sale of state property. This will be enough to raise the living standards three or four times over compared with the level under Castro rule.

If the future government of Cuba accepts the NCAF's programme it will be able to fulfill a historic mission. For more than 70 years the Soviet Communists as-

---

** Jorge Mas Canosa told the interviewer that he had come to the United States "without a single penny." Thirty years later he became a multimillionaire

***On the day of our conversation 40 Cubans arrived in Miami on rafts from the island

serted that the people are the masters of the entire wealth of the state. But we and you know that this is not true. In Cuba privatization will be a source of revenue with the help of which the government will achieve several tasks. During the transition from centralization to a market economy unemployment is inevitable. To avoid social tension and conflicts we shall establish a two to three billion dollar fund for the payment of unemployment benefits as well as for the financial backing of demobilization of the armed forces and dissolution of the party bureaucratic apparatus. I have in mind first of all the upper crust, the privileged part of these structures.

Ye.G. Are you going to support them financially?

J.M.C. Precisely so. Let us take, say, an army general or colonel who has two cars, three houses, four aids and four mistresses. Let him keep everything and we shall pay him a benefit for 12 to 18 months until he is consumed by a market economy. After the expiration of this term we shall grant him a pension in order to avoid a social conflict. If a general or colonel is deprived of everything he has and is kicked out into the street, he will become our enemy and a conflict is likely to arise. So a two to three billion dollar fund will help us to preserve social peace.

Lastly, having earned money as a result of privatization, we can tell a Cuban: Castro alleged that state property belongs to the people, but you had nothing except food ration coupons. Now we have earned billions of dollars from the sale of state property and therefore we can hand every Cuban a cheque in dollars, a sort of equivalent compensation for the damage.

Ye.G. The plan you have drawn is very attractive. Do you know what your opponents will say? Those who seek power easily make promises. Upon coming to power they forget about them.

J.M.C. My reply is simple. Castro has given out promises for 32 years and has done nothing during this time. We, Cuban emigrants, have achieved prosperity in the United States over the same 32 years. We want to build in Cuba a system that will give Cubans the same opportunities which have opened for us in the United States.

Ye.G. Are American Cubans and you personally ready to invest capital in the Cuban economy?

J.M.C. We are ready to do that if democracy triumphs in Cuba and guarantees are ensured for private capital. In addition, as an initial step, we are ready to make initial injections of four to five billion dollars.

Ye.G. What in your opinion is the total capital of the Cuban community?

J.M.C. The incomes of the American Cubans are treble the national income of Cuba. Apart from private capital we have one more advantage over the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: 20 percent of the Cuban population live abroad, and they represent skilled manpower.

Refugees from the "Freedom Island" *Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)*

Ye.G. The distinctions between Cuba, on the one hand, and the USSR and Eastern Europe, on the other, are too evident to draw a parallel. Nevertheless, how do you imagine the possible change of the regime in Cuba. Will it be a military coup, a conspiracy in the top echelons of power or a popular uprising, though the last is hardly probable in my opinion?

J.M.C. I advocate change without violence, without blood. By all his policy Fidel Castro unfortunately provokes a violent solution to the problem. I do not think that a revolt will break out in Cuba. There are, however, several power centres on the island. One fine day someone will say: "Look, Fidel, you are the only obstacle on the road from poverty to prosperity." He will be pushed into a plane and flown to Pyongyang, to his great friend Kim Il Sung, and that will be the end of all problems. When Castro goes no one will be persecuted in Cuba. Such is the position of the NCAF.

Ye.G. This question might seem strange to you. What are Fidel Castro's services?

J.M.C. The greatest service of Castro is the establishment of the National Cuban-American Fund. At one time Cuba sank low because its middle class – strong, hard-working and enterprising – ceased to show interest in politics. Thieves and criminals came in its way. But later this mistake in the life of society was corrected, and we set up our Fund. So Fidel Castro awakened the conscience of the Cuban people and impelled them to take part in political life. Decent people, businessmen holding active civil positions returned to politics. Castro should be given credit in this respect.

Ye.G. Let us talk about Cuban-Soviet relations, at present and after a possible change of the regime in Cuba.

J.M.C. It seems they began to acquire a more realistic character. Huge subsidies are no longer granted to Cuba. Only barter trade has remained. This is not enough for Cuba. Fidel Castro is a burden for the Soviet Union. By helping the Castro regime you help only one man who is obsessed with power only. Millions of dollars went down the drain in Cuba, and in exchange you get only contempt and ingratitude. Castro stands exposed in the eyes of the whole world. Soviet aid to his regime is an instructive example... The experiment of the Cuban revolution, for which the Soviet people have paid dearly, is a major social fiasco in the history of the Western Hemisphere.

I think the Soviet Union should discon-

tinue its economic aid to the Castro regime. I know this will not happen instantly, though I am personally for an immediate solution. In this case the world would believe the seriousness of Moscow's intentions to help observe human rights and civil freedoms in other countries.

I shall say more. Until the Soviet Union ceases to help Cuba we shall use all our influence in the Western world and in Washington to suspend US aid to it.

Ye.G. Is it a threat?

J.M.C. It is not a threat. If we, in the United States, render aid to the Soviet Union and the latter continues to help Cuba, it will appear that precisely we help the Castro regime. It is an indirect way of channelling the money of American taxpayers to Cuba. I think the United States is interested in its aid going only to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union is interested in using this aid for its needs only.

Ye.G. Do you have enough levers to exert influence on President Bush?

J.M.C. Yes, we have. Speaking in Houston last year, the President linked US aid to the USSR with Soviet aid to Cuba on seven occasions. The US Congress has enough influence to correct any initiative on aid to the Soviet Union depending on the latter's assistance to Castro. During the last year we have upheld the following stand: the Soviet Union will not receive any aid from the United States until it revises its policy with regard to the communist government of Cuba... I have heard this myself from Bush several times.

Ye.G. Judging by numerous photographs in your office you maintain relations with President Bush.

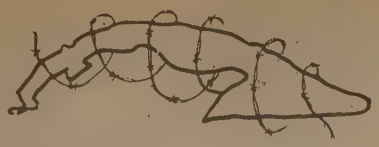
J.M.C. It is so indeed.

Ye.G. One of the old problems in Soviet-American relations is the absence of a favourable trade climate and the status of the USSR as a most favoured nation. Do you have enough influence to help the Soviet Union receive the most favoured nation treatment?

J.M.C. If the Soviet Union ceases to help Cuba we are prepared to further its interests in the United States, and not only here. Two million Cubans live throughout the world. We have a large infrastructure in Latin America, Japan and Western Europe. We could help your republics sell their goods in the markets of these regions.

Ye.G. We do not have enough goods to sell them on foreign markets...

J.M.C. We would also help you to get credits. You could use our influence



in the West in your own interests.

Ye.G. In what way? Most likely my question may seem cynical, but in politics and interstate relations top priority has always been given to interests. So, guided by the interests of the Soviet Union, I would like to know your opinion: what will the USSR gain in the event of a change of the Cuban regime?

J.M.C. If Castro goes the Soviet Union will not have to invest billions of dollars in Cuba, and we shall pay in hard currency for the oil, machines and equipment we shall buy from you.

Ye.G. Cubans living on the island say that our machines and equipment are scrap metal.

J.M.C. Soviet equipment is used in Cuban industry, even though they call it scrap. Indeed, industry is more up-to-date in the West, and it will take years to modernize the existing industry in Cuba. In the meantime we shall need spare parts for the Soviet equipment, and we would pay for them with dollars. For our part, we could sell sugar, tobacco, vegetables, citrus and other fruits to the Soviet Union.

Lastly, returning to your question, we could use our influence in Washington in the Soviet Union's interests.

Ye.G. Latin Americans have a joke, "when tipsy, a man can promise more than he can do."

J.M.C. It is not so. Simply we have not yet had an opportunity to demonstrate our readiness to fulfill our promises with regard to the Soviet Union. Our relations with Czecho-Slovakia are an example of how we fulfilled our promises. In short, the Castro regime means only losses for the Soviet Union while we American Cubans could be a gain for it.

Ye.G. How do you treat the problem of Cuba's debts to the Soviet Union? Would you be ready to pay at least a part of these debts?

J.M.C. We are ready to hold talks on Cuba's debts to the USSR and I am sure we can decide the matter in favour of your country.

Ye.G. Incidentally, how large is the Cuban debt according to the NCAF?

J.M.C. It is a difficult question. Statistics are lame under communism. I think nevertheless that the Cuban debt runs to about 30 billion dollars.

Ye.G. Discounting aid?

J.M.C. Certainly, aid, especially military, is a separate thing...

Ye.G. Mr. Mas, how do you see prospects of Soviet-Cuban political and military relations after a possible change of regime in Cuba?

J.M.C. We can have most cordial political relations while military relations will simply be needless. Cuba does not need an army because it is an island. It needs only police for the maintenance of public order and a small naval force.

Ye.G. How will the question of military bases be settled?

J.M.C. Both Soviet and American military bases, Guantanamo included, must be removed from the territory of Cuba.

Ye.G. The National Cuban-American Fund and its leaders are often accused of the following sin: seeking to achieve their only aim, one of coming to power, they reject the idea of an intra-Cuban dialogue...

J.M.C. On October 10, 1989 we declared that we are ready to begin a dialogue with everyone in Cuba except Fidel Castro. We know too well that he will never agree to a serious dialogue and reforms, because he may then lose his power.

Personally, I would enter into a dialogue with Castro and would tell him: "Commandante, your time is over, you must get out of the country..." I would be glad to take part in a debate with him on Soviet television, though talking with Fidel Castro is like trying to argue with a resurrected Stalin. With the exception of Castro, we are ready to begin a dialogue with everyone in Cuba with the aim of finding a peaceful, civilized, non-violent solution to the Cuban problem.

Ye.G. Mr. Mas, your supporters believe that you will be elected President of Cuba after Castro goes. Would you like to assume the presidential post?

J.M.C. I joined the struggle for the liberation of my country in the times of Batista, when I was a boy. Everything I have done in my life and am doing now has not been done for the purpose of achieving the presidential post. It is difficult to accuse me of having such a desire. But I do not rule out anything. Perhaps I shall establish one more fund, already in Cuba, in order to take part in a national dialogue. Only the Cuban people will decide whom to elect to the presidential post. I do not think that our people are divided. We, Cubans, both living on the island and in emigration, form one nation. If I were elected president I would try to bring about social peace which our country has not known for the last 50 years at least.

MIAMI

The inquisitors of the 20th century

Marina Shakina

For almost twenty years now, the Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims in Copenhagen, the first one of its kind, has been drawing patients from all over the world. By now, Danish doctors have helped open such centres in a number of other countries

He came running to my place one morning in a state of great agitation. I asked him what the matter was, and he told me that a man who had sat down to him in a cafe carried a sandwich, a cup of coffee and soft-boiled egg on his tray. That was exactly, he told me, what his investigator had breakfasted on while questioning him... That had been done on purpose, so that even out of prison you should never forget that horror, so that it should not let go of your life. This is why torture victims often shudder at the sight of quite ordinary things, like a pencil, for instance."

"A former Turkish political prisoner told me that in jail he had been subjected to the torture known in the world practice as 'phalanx' – the victim is suspended from the ceiling upside down, and his footsoles get a brutal beating. The man's anguished cries were recorded on tape which was then played back to his father. Shocked, the father killed himself. That's what torture is..."

The above are excerpts from accounts by the Danish doctor Inge Genefke and Soren Bolholm who dedicated themselves in medicine to the rehabilitation of torture victims, and in public life, to fighting this evil. Found in Copenhagen is a unique medical institution – a torture victims rehabilitation centre.

A practice as old as mankind

Torture has been practised throughout human history. The earliest historical records of it appear in the chronicles of Pharaoh Ramses (1304–1237 B.C.) which describe the tortures enemy soldiers, captured on the eve of a decisive battle, were subjected to. In Ancient Greece, slave torturing was common practice because if that procedure had not been observed the evidence slaves gave in court was regarded as unauthentic. In Caligula's Rome (37–41 A.D.) no public holiday was celebrated without a few criminals being tortured to death.

In Europe, torture was wide spread in the Middle Ages, largely because of the Holy Inquisition, but almost disappeared in the 18th century. The first French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) proclaimed torture to be a crime; at that time torture

was equated with murder and punishable by decapitation. In the 1889 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica we read: "The whole subject of torture is now only of historical interest as far as Europe is concerned."

However, torture returned to Europe early this century under the banner of two powerful political trends – Nazism and Communism. Europe relapsed into barbarism...

Even now, at the end of the twentieth century, torture is not gone from the life of mankind. This is evidenced by the vast documentation amassed by the Copenhagen Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims since its founding in 1974. The Centre's first patients were Greeks (the junta which ruled Greece in 1967–1974 used torture on a large scale) and Chileans who had gone through the Pinochet torture-chambers after the overthrow of the Allende government in 1973. Later, Danish doctors attended to Latin Americans and Africans, for the most part. Now most of their patients come from the Middle East, the Philippines, Sri Lanka.

The twentieth century has refined torture techniques: the old "third-degree interrogatrion manuals," such as the notorious Malleus Maleficarum look like something out of the Stone Age when compared with today's methods of torture involving electric current, for instance. Admittedly, however, the social conditions under which tortures are "working" today have changed. Once accepted by society, torture no longer is. Once staged in public, torture has now "gone underground".Once preceded by some kind of "legal procedure" such as a court sentence, torture is now used "arbitrarily," as it were. In some fundamentalist Islamic countries living by the law of Sharia, a defendant may still be sentenced to a public flogging, heel thrashing or even limb amputation, but even there the sentence of amputation often remains on paper because it is next to impossible to find a surgeon willing to perform the operation.

Wherever they exist, torture chambers are now kept well away from the public eye: no government wishing to project a civilized image will ever own up to using torture. The torturers have become more circumspect and refined, and learned to leave almost no traces. The marks left by electrodes after electric current torture become barely perceptible in a few days' time. If a third degree interrogation leaves a prisoner without his finger-nails or otherwise maimed, the victim will never be set free; according to the Copenhagen doctors' estimate, almost all such prisoners are killed.

European doctors started their crusade against torture in 1974. The campaign known as "medical science versus torture" has been in progress for almost twenty years now. What do the anti-torture campaigners have to show for their efforts?

Doctors give evidence

In 1974, nine Danish doctors – including Inge Genefke, now the medical director of the Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims – began investigating the torture problem at the request of Amnesty International. As she said hello to us, this slender woman of medium height, with a look of concentration on her face and a vigorous manner, noted that Nikolai Garkusha (the Soviet IAN news agency's correspondent in Copenhagen) and myself were the first Soviet journalists to have shown interest in the Centre.

At first, doctors set themselves the task of studying the effects of torture on the human organism in order to find a way to prove the torturers guilty. Mrs. Genefke and her colleagues sought to find medical evidence of torture having been used. "We've managed it. For example, we can prove that a person has been subject to the phalanx torture which causes irreparable damage to the soles of the foot. We can prove that a person has suffered 'the rack'. Other tortures also leave their indelible marks on a victim. Gradually, the doctors' subject of research and field of activity have widened. By now the Centre has accumulated an enormous amount of information and knowledge about torture – about its philosophy, technology, phases, consequences and social role – and, of course, a wealth of priceless material about torture victim's rehabilitation (methods of inspection, diagnosis, treatment).

A normal human being shudders at the very thought of torture. It seems that no one with normal human responses can deal with the subject of torture methodically, the way Danish doctors do. The academic detachment with which they do their job is truly admirable. Their achievements are impressive indeed.

For instance, I was amazed by a simple discovery having to do with, let's say, the "philosophy and social role" of torture. The first question which naturally suggests itself is: what's the idea of torture? Not that the Soviet people have been spared informa-

tion in this sphere. Classroom stories about the White Guard brutalities with regard to Red Army prisoners-of-war and about the interrogation methods used by the Gestapo were part of ideological education in the USSR. A few years ago I called on the school my little daughter goes to, to have a word with her teacher. The latter excused herself for a moment, and while waiting for her I picked up a book about heroic Young Pioneers from her desk, leafed through it – and felt my flesh creep. The book described in explicit detail the tortures the wretched children had been subjected to. I am still not sure that schoolchildren ought to know about these things in such gory detail. Our sensibilities have, indeed, been "spared" information about the way iterrogations were conducted in the NKVD, about the horrors of the GULAG, about the relationships between warders and prisoners today. Nevertheless, we did have a notion of what torture is. Even though disgusting, torture appeared to be quite a utilitarian means of finding out secret addresses, passwords, army unit positions and weapons specifications...

Inge Genefke: "Torture is the most formidable weapon against democracy."

What's the purpose of torture? To wrest some information or a confession from the victim? To compel him to testify against someone or to admit to crimes he never committed?

"After years of research, we have come to the conclusion that torture is about none of these things," Dr. Genefke says. "The idea of torture is to break down a strong personality so as to keep the entire society in awe, to terrorize it." Even if he keeps silent about what has been done to him in jail, a man with a broken will, set free, creates a field of horror and intimidation around himself. "The virus of broken will" spreads in society like psychic infection, reducing people to sumbission.

"Malleus maleficarum" of the 20th century

The Copenhagen Centre has catalogued and classified the tortures now used in various parts of the world. Although different kinds of torture are "popular" in different countries, the techniques are identical, on the whole, and can be described as universal. An innovation thought up in one part of the world is instantly adopted elsewhere. Torturers promptly learn from one another. "They use identical techniques, and we use identical methods of rehabilitation," Inge Genefke sighs. Danish doctors' investigations have revealed that beating of various kinds are the most common torture on all continents, with torture by means of electricity coming second. The "falanga torture" is "popular" in the Middle East. Latin American torturers have preferences of their own – they resort to suffocation tortures called "dry submarine" and "wet submarine" more often than their colleagues in other countries do. The "wet submarine" torture consists of dipping the victim's head into a bathtub full of water mixed with excrement, vomit and blood; the "dry submarine" means suffocating a victim by means of a plastic bag. In general, many kinds of torture included in that international catalogue bear Spanish names: the "wet submarine" is called "la banera"; the rack, "la barra"; and the electric current torture, "la parilla." Even the notorious "telephone" (slapping the victims ears with two hands simultaneously) is spelt the Spanish way – "telefono." Judging by everything, Latin America has made a "worthy" contribution to the refinement of torture techniques. In European states (the Centre's doctors examined prisoners from Spain, Greece and Northern Ireland), beatings are used along with tortures which do not involve "cleaning up a mess": compelling the victims to stand still or to stay in unnatural positions for a long time, to do callisthenics to a state of exhaustion, etc.

"We have found out," Inge Genefke told us, "that tortures often do more damage to a victim's mental health than to his physical health. Torture is a long process which begins with the victim's arrest in front of his family (when he first gets the feeling of humiliating helpnessness as he sees the people he loves being abused), continues in prison, and ends with him signing a statement, before being set free, to the effect he hasn't been tortured while in detention, or that he will not make public what has happened to him in prison. As a matter of fact, this is a process which lasts for a lifetime, because the victim will long suffer from horrible memories, nightmares, head- and other aches."

Torturers' accomplices

Sometimes, physical changes caused by torture are barely perceptible, but a person who has experienced excruciating pain develops a steady inferiority complex. Torturers seek to impress on their victim the feeling that he will never be healthy and normal again. A combination of physical and moral torture is used for the purpose. They want a prisoner to lose his self-respect, his sense of dignity. The choice of means towards that end is quitte large, from rape to making the prisoner eat excrement or watch his close relatives be tortured.

More than half of the patients taking treatment in the Centre said that a doctor had always been present in a torture chamber. This gave victims hope, at first, that their suffering would be alleviated, so it came as a bad shock to them that actually the doctor was there to help the torturers... In the Copenhagen Centre those doctors are referred to as "medical consultants." Violations of medical ethics, of the Hippocratic oath, of the famous commandment "Thou shalt not do harm", are among the most serious problems of the world medical corporation. The doctors in question help

Many tortures have Spanish names in world classification. One of them is "la moto," i.e., a "motocycle"

torturers determine the victim's pain threshold, tell them where to place the electrodes "for best results", indicate the most sensitive parts of the body, watch the pulse beat lest the victim should die at an inopportune moment. "Could they be compelled to do that under pain of death?" I asked. "I don't think so, Mrs. Genefke replied. "We always ask patients how they felt and whether the doctor was on their side or not. Only two or three out of several dozen told us that a doctor tried to help them." Today Inge Genefke thinks of bringing the "medical consultants" before a court of honour.

In order to fight evil, one has to get to know it first. Dr. Genefke is convinced that people should know about these horrifying details and realize that they are part of modern life. She regards herself as a person remote from politics, she fights evil as a doctor and as a humanist, and is not too willing to answer the question of what countries the Centre's patients come from today.

"This doesn't matter," she replies sadly and sums up: "I must say that torture is a product of dictatorial regimes which are based on torture. Torture is the most formidable weapon against democracy."

All our life is torture...

"Do you have any information concerning torture in the Soviet Union?" I asked Dr. Genefke. "Have you had patients from our country?" Like most of us, I always rely on international experts for information about my own country, because I have more trust in foreign human rights activists than in our official authorities. The doctor answered in the negative.

Is torture used in the USSR? I don't know, but some telltale evidence does turn up now and then. Letters coming in to our editorial office from jails and prison camps, former prisoners' stories and sociologists' articles which we print in our magazine suggest it's time we called things by their proper name. The treatment prisoners get in Soviet prisons is nothing but torture because even the conditions in which they are kept there (overcrowded cells, damp or stuffy, flooded with electric light round the clock) answer a description found in the international torture classification. Reports on beatings and humiliation in prisons do not surprise anyone in this country either – least of all those who have had an experience with our militia or the administration of our so-called corrective institutions.

As I pondered torture in the USSR I could not but recall the teenage conscripts tortured to death in the Soviet Army, could not help but match what I had learned at the Copenhagen Centre against what I knew about Sumgait and Ferghana, and against the current situation in Karabakh. Formally, these phenomena do not fall into the torture category because the generally accepted international definition of torture is "infliction of suffering by an official". Neither the Army bullies, the pogrommakers, nor even gunmen can be regarded as such. This is cold comfort... Incidentally, there is another definition of torture which describes it in a broader way, i.e. as an action committed not only by an official, but also with his consent. This definition fits many of the phenomena I've mentioned above. And Inge Genefke's words to the effect that the purpose of torture is to trample the individual underfoot make the gloomy picture complete. Our whole way of life has been anti-human, oppressive and humiliating for years...

Recently, the USSR has signed, without much pomp, the UN Anti-Torture Convention. Although this move marks a big stride forward, it will not change things overnight. Public organizations concerned with the humanization of the penitentiary system are to appear. One such organization, which deals with the problem of army brutality, is already in action – it is called the Soldiers' Mothers Committee. Torture is a synonym for dictatorship and totalitarianism. Its existence in the USSR is a menace to all its citizens, all of them without exception.

The Italian firm

"uno ap"

makes labels of any shape and in any language, Russian included

uno ap

Our address:
"uno ap," pubblicità – Via Giovanni XXIII, 2 – 63017 Porto S. Giorgio (AP) Italia – Phone: 0734/674969

Our man in Kabul

Two CIA "plots"

Alexander Morozov

"The great leader of the Afghan nation" (that was how Taraki was called by his faithful friend Amin) went, early in September of 1979, to attend a meeting of heads of state and governments of non-aligned nations in Havana. His original plan was to take along his "most faithful friend and associate" Amin, however the latter did not go to Cuba.

Several weeks prior to Taraki's trip to Havana, Amin fabricated "an American imperialist plot" – a design which enabled him to deal with an undesirable bunch of Khalqists who were siding with Taraki. Three old-timers in the PDPA Central Committee – Abdul Qadir Misaq, Sharai Jouzjani, and Dastagir Panjshiri – were to be the first victims.

Amin held against them, among other things, their siding, before the 1978 revolution, with the former Parcham faction which opposed nomination of Amin as the PDPA's military organization chief and his introduction into the Party's Politburo. Moreover, they were "guilty" of voicing criticism against Amin, pointing out his excessive ambitions and thirst for personal power even as early as the dawn of the Party's existence.

A tip from Panjshiri's relative about a possible arrest of the three perhaps for the first time awoke the KGB to the possibility that Amin had gone too far. After all, Amin could not be unaware of the fact that the threesome were sincere friends of the Soviet Union and committed to the cause of the PDPA.

Nevertheless, the Soviet ambassador opted to abstain from confrontation with either Taraki or Amin. As an alternative action, it was decided – on a suggestion from the local representative of the KGB and with approval of the CPSU Central Committee and the KGB central authorities in Moscow (as well as the USSR Ambassador to Kabul) – to warn the three men about the danger and offer them refuge in the Soviet Union.

This mission was trusted to the embassy's interpreter who maintained unofficial contacts with the KGB and knew each of the three "conspirators" well. He had to "chance" to meet with Misaq.

Soviet advisors were fooled, but nobody objected

He did. Misaq heard him out and without a word went quickly towards his house, pale in the face.

The following morning brought a surprise. Amin met with the KGB representative and demanded that the embassy's interpreter (whom he called "agent provocateur") be immediately sent off to the USSR. Amin also pointed out that some other Soviets in Kabul "have opinions which are obsolete and no longer valid; they fail to grasp that the situation in Afghanistan has changed and therefore are unable to help us consolidate the success of the April Revolution," which meant that they had to be called back from the country. In fact Amin meant those Soviet advisors who had long years of experience in Afghanistan, knew the country, its history, and its leaders well. Amin preferred to deal with those CPSU and military advisors who were ignorant of the situation in Afghanistan.

Amin met with no objections. The helpless intepreter left Kabul for home.

Misaq proved his devotion to Amin, unaware that the latter would be toppled and die in a mere four and a half months and that Soviets would remember the act of treason. In fact, the threesome

The KGB advised Afghan leaders to regularly exhibit, for the sake of the public, weapons captured from the "counterrevolutionaries." The purport was to make the public believe in foreign involvement. However, the guerrillas were armed mainly with stolen Soviet weapons

For the previous installments see *NT* issues Nos 38 and 39

were (along with other pro-Amin Khalqists) arrested and imprisoned by Karmal soon after the Soviet military invasion.

The "party at the corner"

Amin let the three Khalqists be. He concentrated on victimizing others instead. Rumours about another "conspiracy" staged by US imperialism spread around Kabul early in September 1979. In his speech before a large gathering at Kabul University he said that a CIA-inspired counterrevolutionary conspiracy was headed by people whom he dubbed as "the party at the corner." He clearly alluded to the PDPA Central Committee members who sat, during the Committee meetings, at one corner of the table, around Taraki. The party in question were: Defence Minister Muhammad Aslam Wantajar, Communications Minister Sayed Muhammad Golabzoi, Minister of the Interior Sherjan Mozduryar, and state security chief Asadullah Sarwari. All of them belonged to the Khalq faction and were devoted to its leader, Taraki. They, too, did not hesitate to openly criticize Amin and demanded that Taraki curtail Amin's powers.

Amin knew all about that, since everything said between Taraki and his visitors was reported to Amin by his man Major Daud Tarun, head of the secretariat of the "great leader" Taraki. It is also possible that Amin used Soviet-made equipment to bug Taraki's offices.

All members of the so-called "corner party" were known to the KGB intelligence who thought highly of the former. But the KGB's attempts to make the Ambassador and the advisors see that the fresh "conspiracy" was yet another hoax were in vain. Why? The reason was their unwillingness to spoil their relations with Amin, as well as their lack of moral principles. Let me illustrate my point with an example.

The CPSU Central Committee advisor, Victor Smirnov (he died an untimely death soon after his return from Afghanistan), told me how he and head of the group of the CPSU Central Committee advisors, Semyon Veselov, once attended a function on Afghanistan's Independence Day. Amin addressed the congregation with a speech. As he listened to the simultaneously translated speech Veselov remarked, for Smirnov's sake, that Amin was saying gibberish. But when Amin approached Veselov afterwards, and asked about the latter's impressions of the speech, Veselov said the following: "Yours was a beautiful speech, Comrade Amin. Now I see that the fate of Marxism and Leninism in Afghanistan is in good hands." Smirnov was flabbergasted, but Veselov excused himself: "Why should I spoil my relations with Amin. I plan to stay in Afghanistan for a while."

Such an unprincipled approach was typical of the majority of Moscow's advisors dispatched to Afghanistan. Information supplied by the CPSU Central Committee emissaries was given more credit than information from the KGB intelligence (which did not, on many occasions, reach the country's top echelons of power). In Moscow, people at the CPSU Central Committee and the Foreign Ministry credited Amin. Moscow even ordered an end to all contacts with Parchamists who had not been arrested and sympathizers of that faction and its leader Karmal. The ban on such contacts also extended over the KGB intelligence in Kabul (the ban was sanctioned by the then KGB intelligence Moscow chief Vladimir Kryuchkov who later became the overall KGB chief).

Moscow asked for "positive information"

Speaking about the role of Kryuchkov, I recall his inspection visit to Kabul late in 1980 when Soviet occupation of that country was already a *fait accompli*. By that time I was already in Moscow and supervised our intelligence network in Kabul. My work involved reading and assessing information from there. For some reason, the bulk of that information was not passed on upwards, to the KGB intelligence top man, but was simply stored in the information department of the KGB's First Chief Directorate responsible for intelligence. So the Soviet intelligence in Kabul operated to no effect. However, the information was rather important. It included reports indicating disintegration of Afghanistan's armed forces ridden by massive desertion from the ranks and sinking morale. Babrak Karmal's government composed mainly of members and supporters of the former Parcham faction did nothing to consolidate the PDPA, though the unity was vital for the future of the revolution. They were settling their old accounts with the Khalqists. Meanwhile the opposition forces were consolidating for a long and merciless armed struggle.

His visit to Kabul apparently should have made Kryuchkov see that even a 100,000-strong Soviet military contingent could not pacify Afghanistan's population, 90 percent of whom refused to accept the pro-communist regime. But the chief of the KGB intelligence seemed least of all interested in learning the truth. He preferred to believe the new USSR Ambassador, Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich Tabeyev, who succeeded in creating the impression that his efforts were promoting consolidation of the April Revolution's achievements and were instrumental in bringing about one defeat after another for the Revolution's opponents...

Following Kryuchkov's return to Moscow, I was charged to compile a directive for our intelligence network, proceeding from Kryuchkov's theses. His main thesis was stunning: "Spring and summer of 1981 will be decisive for the final and complete defeat of the forces of counterrevolution." I suggested to the deputy head of my department who accompanied Krychkov to Kabul to have that thesis changed. The man (he was expecting a promotion to the rank of general) gave a guilty smile and said: "Since that was his conclusion, we must adhere to it as well."

Back in spring of 1979, in Kabul we were instructed by Moscow that all intelligence concerning the situation in Afghanistan gathered by different agencies was to be analyzed on the spot and channeled to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo certified by signatures of the ambassador, the chief military advisor, the representative of the KGB and the representative of the military intelligence. This seemed to be a sensible solution precluding divergence of conclusions. But this also resulted in a dwindling flow of intelligence to Moscow. Moscow demanded more "positive information," since the abundant "negative information" puts the Politburo members in a bad mood. We learned to meet the demand, with the "positive information" accounting for almost 95 percent of our reports. When Amin's intrigues about the four alleged conspirators aroused Moscow's concern and Moscow gave an order to sort out the matter, none of us in Kabul could fulfill the order. Even experienced people like KGB Generals Boris Ivanov and Yuri Neshumov, and General Nikolai Veselkov of the USSR Ministry of the Interior failed. None of them knew what kind of answer was wanted in Moscow and therefore did not risk giving any.

As for the Soviet military and CPSU advisors, we were perfectly aware that Amin had ordered his men to lie to them camouflaging their real attitude with flattery, expressions of friendship, gifts and feasts. How could they ask disquieting questions or put Amin's intentions and policy in question after being given valuable presents or during hearty meals at tables with flavoured roasted lambs and an abundance of vodka?

Photo by TASS

(To be concluded)

THE PREVIOUS ARTICLES:

They assert that Marx's theory was great, but it was not correctly understood. However, "Capital" gives an unequivocal answer: the entrepreneur is superfluous in production and can be done without. Actually, the entrepreneur does work: he preserves, multiplies and invests capital. Capitalist cadres decide everything. What are the consequences of Marx's idea of getting along without the capitalists?

About the history of the Great October Socialist Catastrophe

5. The sentence is carried out

Simon Soloveichik

THE GREAT OCTOBER WHAT? After Chernobyl there appeared a new unit of measurement – a catastrophe. About various things now they write: this is a catastrophe comparable to Chernobyl; this is a catastrophe like two Chernobyls.

A few words about catastrophes in general: they ripen gradually and then occur suddenly at some moment; there are a great number of catastrophic situations in the world, but many are headed off; and finally, catastrophes are usually the result of not one, but many bad things which come together in time forming a critical mass of bad circumstances.

In October 1917 there was a coup, an uprising and a revolution. So? It wasn't the first coup or revolution. Even one of the most ardent adversaries of revolutionary violence acknowledges that "without reform, and sometimes even revolution, it's impossible to preserve the spiritual health of society." Both revolutions in 1917 were one way or another connected with the war, devastation, and landlessness of the peasants. A revolution was evidently unavoidable.

But there is a revolution and there is a catastrophe. A revolution releases the forces necessary for the development of society, while a catastrophe destroys and stops these forces. After a revolution there is development, after a catastrophe there are years and years of overcoming its circumstances – as with Chernobyl.

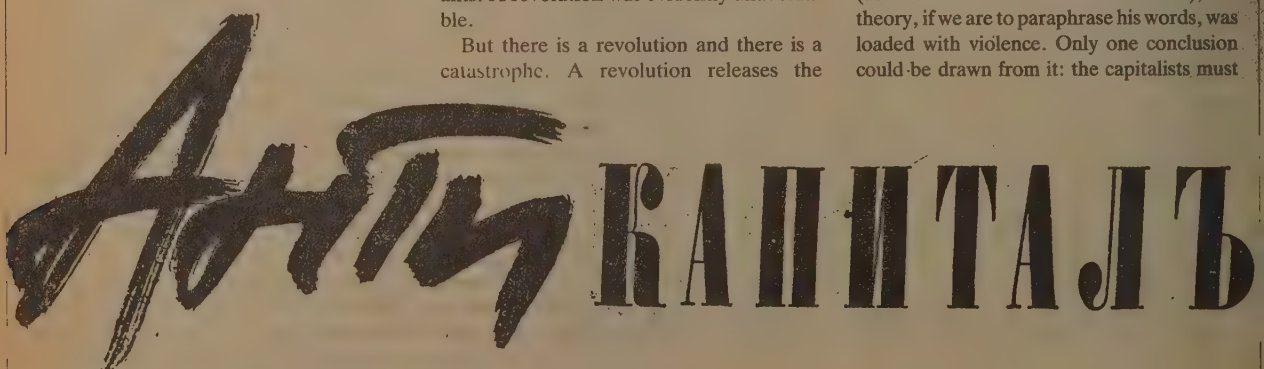
At the end of 1917 all the bad circumstances came together, and a typical revolution, resulting from real causes, was affected by Marxist theory.

It is Marxism that made the revolution a catastrophe.

A MANDATE FOR UNHAPPINESS. They say that Marx was just a theoretician. What they don't write about in books! Theoreticians don't bear any responsibility for their ideas.

Ought we to share the blame then? It's too late for that. But it should be noted first of all that Marx wasn't only a theoretician, but did a lot in setting up the International, the origin of all Marxist parties. He was the first leader of the world proletariat. Secondly, he came out in judgement of a whole class of people and sentenced them to elimination.

Whether Marx called for violence or not (there's much debate over that now), his theory, if we are to paraphrase his words, was loaded with violence. Only one conclusion could be drawn from it: the capitalists must



Conclusion. For the beginning see our issues Nos 36–39, 1991.

be driven out and their property taken away and made public since the proletariat has the historical, scientifically based right to do this.

If Marx had said, like they write about him now, "steal what was stolen," he would have had only a few hundred fanatical followers and there wouldn't have been any intellectuals, philosophers or polemicists among them or the Marxist circles or, the more so, the Marxist parties. There would have been roughly as many Communists as there were Blanquists and Fourierists.

But Marx made his assertion that it was possible to build the world without entrepreneurs seem like a great scientific theory in which all bricks fit perfectly. The audacity with which he remolded the standard world outlook and his ability to overcome all obstacles captured the hearts of people inclined to intellectual adventurism or simply tired of the contradictoriness of capitalism with no hope in sight.

Marx proposed unheard of freedom from morality, which he declared was not at all eternal, but bourgeois, and from religious searchings. Without any ceremony whatsoever he removed the tormenting question about what is the truth. All is extremely simple: what is in the interests of the proletariat is the truth. What maintains, at least implicitly, the bourgeois order is a lie.

Marx thought over, explained and discovered historical laws which no honest person could help but follow. If it was the historical truth, what could you do?

Here is probably the worst consequence of the theory: conscience was replaced by the historical laws.

No matter how many codes of law there have been in the world they all, one way or another, retained the right to property. Marx proclaimed a new right, which had never existed before, the moral right to help take away property from its owners. Not the crude "steal what has been stolen," but the theoretical basis for the right to make all property public, because that would bring progress to the world. That was the highway for mankind. So many lawyers and philosophers beat their heads against the wall trying to find a basis for law, and Marx decided this problem in one stroke. Law was based on progress leading to communism.

Marx invented a new law, a new conscience and a new kind of activity, the conscious creation of history, the opportunity to wilfully, according to the laws discovered by him, change and direct the historical process. He wrote that philosophers only explained the world. But it was time to change it! This doubtful, if not to use a stronger word, but very attractive thought about the right of man to carve history is reiterated in Marxist literature with special joy and significance. The exaltation of man is seen in it.

And everything hinges on one single postulate: the capitalist isn't needed in production... I understand that Marxist professors will become hysterical hearing that the whole great theory comes down to one simple assertion, but that is really so. That's the way it is in math, too. Having made the arbitrary assumption, for instance, that straight parallel lines intersect, it's possible to create highly sophisticated and "logically" based geometry. There won't seem to be any contradiction – if you forget that in real life parallel lines do not intersect and that a house can't be built according to this theory, no matter how splendid it is.

That's exactly what happened with Marx's theory. Imagine a castle built according to Lobachevsky's geometry?

THE TRAP. The temptation, if you succumb to it, leads to a trap. That's its nature. And don't hope to find any logic in the trap. There's only one rule when it comes to traps: don't fall in.

They write about the annihilation of the best peasants. Many write about how they exiled the philosophers.

But why don't they write about the great misfortune, about how the entrepreneurs were either driven out or killed, that the country was left without private factory owners, without those rare and talented people who alone could start up and run a company.

It was a social lobotomy. The industrial body of the country had been left without its head.

So the country cut back on capitalists! And to this day we get by on their money.

That's the difference between socialism and capitalism: the capitalist entrepreneur risks his own money, but the socialist somebody else's.

That's what it boils down to. All the rest are the consequences.

All these lumpen capitalists sitting on the politbureau and secretariats invested the people's money as they saw fit and didn't risk anything. None of them ever saved a penny in their life, some never even earned one. But they flung around others' money by the billions.

When the capitalist takes a risk and makes a mistake, his money isn't lost, but goes to someone else. But it remains in the economy. But with us the money physically disappears into the hole of mismanagement.

Three conditions are enough to ruin any economy, to reduce any people to poverty: the first is to charge just anybody with handling money; the second is to let them spend money without risk; and the third is to destroy the unprofitable as if to burn it in the oven of a crematory. Incidentally, any of these three circumstances would be enough to destroy the economy.

As a result, mismanagement spreads to all levels, the millions become billions lost, and the economy of the country turns into a madhouse in which unthinkable things are possible and in which most of all suffer exactly those in whose interests this home was supposedly built – the workers.

Not a single country would have endured this 70-year burden of mismanagement.

THE TERROR. There are debates over who began, who thought up concentration camps. They find quotes, defend some, accuse others. They write that the goal was good, but the means wrong and importantly prove as if new, that the goal doesn't justify the means. Again the same thing: Marx is smart, but we are dumb. The goal is great, but the means bad.

However, the means exactly fit the given goal – to build socialism, that is, the order with the socialized means of production without the capitalists. But this is unnatural, it can't be. It calls for robbing the workers and peasants in order to constantly compensate for the mismanagement. And in order to rob for decades and go unpunished, terror is necessary.

The economy didn't work without the capitalists. It was replaced by politics. But you can't feed people with politics and you can't shut them up. Politics was replaced by terror. Life became hell. The losses had to be justified, the doubts had to be crushed... and it all got started. The economy, law, religion, philosophy, literature, culture, school, morality... All became twisted and senseless and crazy. Gorky began with the words "the owner is the one who works" and ended with the phrase "if the enemy doesn't give in, he has to be destroyed." This is the whole history of socialism. It's amazing how many people write fiery critical articles (I have, too) on everything, while all this is the result of only one thing, one catastrophe. And while that cause isn't dealt with all the criticism of its consequences is senseless.

All in our country went and is going the only way it could after the socialist catastrophe.

Marx judged and pronounced the sentence. Lenin arrested a whole country according to the sentence, and Stalin carried it out.

Now many feel like the Afghan war veterans. They fought honestly, but was it a just war? It seems that all our recent history is one big Afghanistan. And there's no getting around the contradiction between the hor-

ror of all the innocent victims and the horrible results.

SO HOW DOES IT TURN OUT? Let's sum it all up then.

If the capitalist is rewarded for preserving, multiplying and investing capital, then there is no capitalist exploitation, there is no appropriation of anything he hasn't earned.

If there's no exploitation, then there is no class antagonism. In some things the interests of the workers and the capitalists are at variance, in some they are the same. The relations between labour and capital is trade, sometimes tough, but it's trade. The standard of living of the working class depends not on changes of social systems, but on the development of the economy on one hand, and of democracy on the other.

If there is no exploitation and no absolute antagonism, then the working class is not the main moving force in history. It may be the moving force in revolutions, but life isn't just revolutions.

If there's no exploitation, no absolute antagonism, and no exclusive role of the proletariat, consequently there is no law about the correspondence of production relations with production forces which supposedly necessitated making the means of production public and the proletarian revolution. It doesn't at all follow that if production is collective, property must be collective too. Where is the logic in it? The word *property* is used in this syllogism arbitrarily, it is a simple play on words.

And, of course, those social economic systems which succeed one another do not exist. This is written about a lot these days. The whole theory proclaiming that socialism and communism are natural stages of development of mankind turned out to be unconformable to real history and unconfirmed by scientific data. Historians went out of their minds trying to force history into the Marxist scheme, but it refuses to conform.

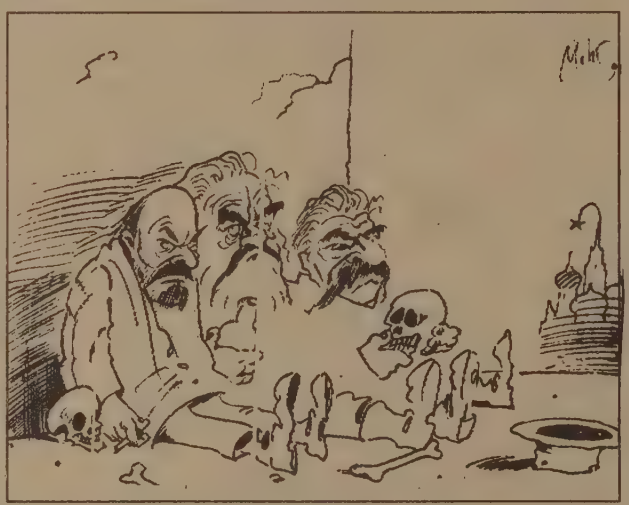
It seems there is no reason to knock down all that we formerly held in esteem. Simply none of it exists. There is no Marxist history, Marxist political economy, Marxist philosophy, Marxist psychology, Marxist pedagogy, Marxist sociology – and what else was there Marxist?

There is nothing.

AGAIN ABOUT INEQUALITY. So, has history come to an end? Will nothing rise on the ashes of Marxism? And will the main social disease of mankind – material inequality – remain with us forever? And will inequality always make socialism a temptation?

No. Our consciousness affected by the radiation of Marxism only sees one path going in one direction. But there are other paths.

The light at the end of the tunnel will be seen. Maybe we won't see it, but someone will. Let's not envy them, but be glad there is hope.



Drawing by Burkhard Mohr from the newspaper General-Anzeiger (Germany)

It turns out that at some level of well-being, already achieved in developed countries, a new unforeseen process has begun – the people's awareness of their own dignity. Not class dignity, as Marx predicted, but their own individual dignity. New values come to the fore, the very ones which were only written about by philosophers or psychologists and about which Marx wrote fantasizing about the distant communist future. The people begin to be interested in their self-fulfilment, as the Americans say. Man wants to understand his purpose in life and realize it.

It turns out that for there to be these new values, the new rules, the society doesn't need to be ideal – no ultimate solution.

This new, comparatively recently revealed phenomenon, which amazed scholars, was described in the book, entitled *New Rules, Searching for Self-Fulfilment in a World Turned Upside Down* (New York, 1981) by the American sociologist, Daniel Yankelovich.

The author writes about his country that they live in a world far from rational, full of danger, and economically imperfect – in a world in which not everything is as it should be. But in this world up to 80 percent of the Americans to one degree or another try to develop their abilities, to express themselves. No, it's not concentrating on oneself, not egoism, not narcissism, but looking on oneself as a worthy being.

It is thought that under capitalism, if you aren't an owner, but an employee, you are only an object of barter, losing your humanness.

It turns out that's not so at all. An ordinary employee working at an ordinary job can become a person equal to all others – equal in dignity. The search for self-fulfilment became the main source of the energy which moves American culture.

Not all is so hopeless here and not all the colour in the mica window of Marxism-Leninism.

Long ago, at the end of the 18th century, the French philosopher and mathematician Jean Condorcet wonderfully formulated the desired direction of progress. No one said it better, and I don't think anyone ever will: "Our hopes for people having a better life in the future can be reduced to three important conditions: doing away with inequality between nations, the progress of equality between different classes of the same nation, and finally the true perfection of man."

* * *

...This was written before the coup. I just saw a five-minute clip by the English TV company *Visnews* about the coup. Three August days in five minutes. It was well done. The final sequences showed the tanks leaving Moscow. On one of them in large white letters was written something that just begs to be translated here at the end of this article about Marx's *Capital:* "Eternal memory to the victims of communism."

make your advertisements the best they can be!

ДИЗАЙН

DESIGN

Active impressions in marketing

Advertisements layout design.
Clipart, logos, complex graphic effects.
Please contact:
НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN Agency
Pushkin Square
GSP, Moscow, K-6, 103782
Phone: (095) 2099282
Fax: (095) 2004223, 2004192
or
POLYGRAPH-BUREAU of STEEPLER Ltd.
40 Kropotkinskaya st.,
Moscow 119034
Phone: (095) 2468192
Fax: (095) 2452194

Chavdar Dobrev, 58, came to Moscow to sit in the comfortable chair of the director of the Bulgarian Cultural and Information Centre. In the silence of his office he wanted to write in peace critical essays on Bulgarian and Russian theatres, to reflect on the meaning of life and to built cultural bridges between brother Slavs. Dobrev did not intend to get mixed up in politics, but he couldn't stay on the sidelines during the days of the August putsch.

Chavdar regarded the attempted military coup in Moscow as the "game of sclerotics" and from the very beginning was convinced that the conspirators would have no success. For three nights his car with a diplomatic license plate could be seen near the Russian White House. Chavdar was recognized by people sitting around the bonfires.

"Near the White House I saw a mystically beautiful picture" recounts the Bulgarian. "Hugging one another, a guy and his girlfriend slept in the trolleybus that any minute could be crushed by tanks. I watched the people who were carrying over cobblestones and talked to tankers who had come over to the side the Russian Parliament. Those three days have shown me the true Russia."

Chavdar Dobrev was born in the Bulgarian city of Yambol, finished a high school and for four years studied at the Department of Philology and Journalism in Budapest University. Then he worked as an editor with the People's Culture Publishers, at the studio of documentary films, was the first deputy editor-in-chief of the Bulgarian literary journal *Contemporary* and as a playwright was invited to Sofia's Ivan Vazov and Satire theatres. The new director is a member of the Union of Bulgarian Writers and a prize-winner of the two creative workers' unions. Before his arrival in Moscow he worked in the Institute of Art Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

A. Pyasetskaya

* * *

While the defeated candidate for the post of mayor of Moscow, Tatiana Koryagina, is recuperating after a hunger-strike protesting the policy of Gavriil Popov, the 62-year-old **Harue Kitamura** is celebrating her victory at the elections in the Japanese town of Ashiya. When after many months of pre-election marathon the happy mother of two trounced the male candidate of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the observers regarded it as the fall of the prestige of the LDP and ... of Japanese men.

A lawyer by profession, Kitamura is the first female mayor in Japan. "Japan should have had a female mayor much earlier," she thinks. The first thing she promised to do after taking the office was to carry out educational reforms in the town.

* * *

Now Soviet men can join their efforts and defend their rights as fathers. The Russian human rights association Fathers and Children has been founded in Moscow. Its goal is to help those male parents who are being prevented from seeing and raising their children by their ex-wives and public education and justice officials. **Georgy Tyurin,** 37, has become the association's president.

Georgy studied at the Moscow High School of Technology, but gave up his studies when he realized that engineering was not his strong suit and was drafted into the army. Because time and again he spoke out against hazing in his unit, he had to serve in the "valiant and invincible" army without leaves and furloughs. He was discharged in the

The unknown Grachev

Not long ago during a conversation at a tea party in the "TV club of editors-in-chief", Mikhail Gorbachev was asked who was going to be the chief of his press service. "I have a candidate for this post. I am sure you know him," replied the President. "I feel drawn to him. But, alas, so far he is not very eager to take that post. And I must tell you that the more I respect a person, the more difficult it is for me to act against his wishes..."

And now the cover over his name has been lifted. **Andrei Grachev,** 50, journalist and political scientist, has been appointed the new assistant of the USSR President and the chief of his press service.

This is how he has made his way to "the top." A boy from a Moscow communal flat, in 1964 he graduated from the prestigious Moscow State Institute of International Relations, represented the Soviet Union in the headquarters of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Budapest, then he had a usual career for those days, from the Komsomol to Staraya Ploshchad (the headquaters of the CPSU Central Committee). But he has not become a "partocrat" over those 25 years. On the contrary, he has continued to stand out among the figures of the party establishment for his sense of humour, fresh ideas and resourcefulness. It would, probably, be too much to call him a "dissident in the Central Committee". But he has stayed in the heart of the system not because he has submitted to it, but rather because he has always believed that was the best place for one to be if he wanted to change the system. Whether he was right or wrong, he has never been untrue to himself or nor has he lost his idealism either in the days of his successes or the days of his defeats. For many Soviet and foreign interlocutors, TV viewers and readers he was that "human face" in which they wanted so much to believe. A well-educated and interesting interlocutor, he has a good command of several European languages plus Vietnamese which, by the way, he has almost no chance to practice.

His membership in the Central Committee of the former ruling party has turned out to be of a shorter duration than his work in the Board of founders of the newspaper *Moscow News*. Andrei Grachev's speech at the last (who could have guessed it?) Central Committee plenary session last July contained sharp criticism of the positions of the party's die-hards and, judging by the verbatim report of the meeting, was met with the indignant "noise in the hall" which, as it has tuned out, can be regarded as a tribute.

During the August putsch he was one of the few Central Committee members who publicly demanded an immediate meeting with the General Secretary.

For quite a long time Andrei Grachev has been regarded as one of the most able experts in international affairs in the "Gorbachev team" and on more than one occasion has accompanied him on trips abroad. A Candidate of Science in history, he has published two books in journalistic genre: *The Defeat or the Lesson* (1977) – about the youth movements in Europe in the 1960s–1970s, and *The Impasses of Political Violence* (1982) – about international terrorism.

I think that Mikhail Gorbachev can be congratulated on making a good choice. He has shown that he has a good taste. On our part, it is very difficult for us *New Times* staffers to avoid the temptation to point out an interesting fact: the editor-in-chief of our weekly was appointed by the President as his first press-attache, and our regular contributor as his successor.

A.Bukalov

rank of a private: "Clean shoulder-straps — clear conscience," says Georgy Tyurin. After graduating from a law institute he worked in the Procurator's Office of the Moscow Region. In three years he was promoted to the post of the procurator of department, but was fired, according to Tyurin, for his "adherence to principles and attempts to combat lawlessness."

Georgy has a 5-year-old son. But since the divorce two years ago his former wife has been denying him an opportunity to see his child. To secure his and other fathers' legitimate parental rights and obligations Georgy has created this association.

* * *

The owner of the Tattoo art shop, **Vladimir Tychinin,** 24, is developing a new market for tattoos. The trade that he learned while doing his time has come in very handy after his discharge, when he has continued to meet many people wishing to have art galleries on their bodies. For the time being Vladimir works alone, but he is thinking about going in with several more professional tattooers.

Moscow members of informal organizations have already appreciated Tychinin's talent at its true value. On the master's waiting list there are also Afghan war veterans, sailors, workers and rock-stars. Men want to have pictures of "death's-heads and predators' heads." Ladies prefer flowers. Not long ago, the guitarist from the well-known group The Corrosion of Metal, nicknamed "Hog", received from Vladimir a head of a lion on his forearm.

Tychinin paints the bodies in Chinese ink, the best for tattooing. He works with home-made tools using a sharpened guitar string instead of a needle. He asks his customers not to be afraid of getting an infection or contracting AIDS — the strings are worked up with alcohol and sterilized. It takes Vladimir from 6 to 8 hours to make one picture. The price of one shoulder picture is from 200 to 300 rubles (in the United States a similar operation costs about 200 dollars).

Vladimir gives a forty years' guarantee for the colour and the quality of the picture. Judging by the reaction of the people who have used his services, today Tychinin is one of the best tattooers in Russia. Vladimir hopes that some day in this country a tattoo will no longer be viewed as a prison brand and will be accepted as a kind of commercial art.

* * *

The leading Cuban orthopaedist **Rodrigo Alvarez Cambras,** 56, Medical Doctor, is called "Latin America's Ilizarov."

In his childhood, Alvarez Cambras wanted to be an engineer, but when his father died from tuberculosis he decided to devote himself to medicine. At first he was trained to become a cardiologist. In 1956 he took part in a student demonstration against the dictatorial regime of Batista and was wounded in the leg. After the treatment he became an orthopaedist.

Today Alvarez Cambras heads Frank Pais Orthopaedic Hospital near Havana, one of the world's largest. In March 1990, they began to treat there the first group of Soviet Afghan war invalids. In eighteen months Alvarez Cambras and his colleagues have literally given new limbs to many Soviet young men: 133 patients have been operated on and 192 have been fitted with state-of-the-art artificial limbs. The events of August 19–21 in Moscow provided an opportunity for testing the professional skills of the Cuban doctors: Lieutenant-Colonel of the Soviet Army Valery Radchikov, for whom the Cuban hospital made prosthetic appliances for both legs, defended the Russian Parliament for three days and nights.

Alvarez Cambras hopes that neither Cuba's economic problems, nor the changes in the relations between Moscow and Havana will prevent the Afghan war veterans from coming to his hospital for a free treatment. In September he is expecting another big group of patients from the Soviet Union.

Ye. Kudelina

Coming to Moscow for stolen books

45-year-old Rabbi **Itzhak Koghan** together with a group of other like-minded people stated that he would not leave the Lenin State Library until the Shneerson collection of books was returned to him. Before the revolution, this collection of 12,000 volumes belonged to the spiritual mentors of the Hasids from the Byelorussian borough of Lyubavichi. In 1918, claiming that the collection was "ownerless" it was turned over to the Lenin State Library, or, simply speaking, stolen from the Hasids. The Hasids consider the ancient books in Hebrew to be their relic and, having ascertained where they have been gathering dust for the last 70 years, have come to Moscow to claim them.

The commission appointed by the USSR Ministry of Culture has failed to reach a decision as to what should be done with the books. Many of its members spoke in favour of returning the collection to its owners. But Minister of Culture Gubenko holds the opposite view. He declared that "as long as there will live in this country at least one Jew, the books will remain in the Lenin State Library." The chief of the library's manuscripts department, Deryagin, has made an official statement: he is going to commit an act of self-immolation if the books are given away. Nina Andreyeva, who has assumed the role of an expert on that problem too, is also among those who see eye to eye with him: the books must not be returned no matter what.

Meanwhile, the rabbis are determined to press their demands.

Itzhak Koghan was born and grew up in Leningrad, and since his childhood he has dreamed of going to Israel. His grandfather, a Lyubavichi rabbi, was shot in 1950 for baking matzoth. Koghan managed to leave the USSR only five years ago. In Jerusalem he has set up a firm that helps Soviet Jews who come to Israel for permanent residence to study the fundamentals of Judaic religion, philosophy and culture. Koghan calls these courses the "illiteracy irradication campaign for Soviet Jews." Besides, Koghan's firm regularly invites children-victims of Chernobyl to receive treatment and rest in Israel. "I am digging a well and all people who come to Israel drink from it," says the rabbi.

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

The Russian political thought, as, probably, none other in the world, has been for many a year motivated by the desire to solve the problem of Russia's cultural and national existence, trying at times to reunite with European civilization or, no less passionately, to isolate itself from anything resembling in some way or another, the "alien" West. This topic, for the first time acutely formulated by Russian Westernists and Slavophiles in the middle of the last century, has never been removed from the adenda, reflecting a certain dualism of Russian political culture, i.e. interaction and confrontation of the two principles in its historical development. The attempt made by the Bolsheviks to transfer to Russian soil Marxism – this "radical wing of the Westernism" – proved a profound tragedy for both Russia and the whole world. It deformed both the Russian historical consciousness and the ideas of modernization and "universal humanism."

Therefore today – "after communism" – it's particularly important for us to comprehend the character of our development and to understand who we are, whence and whither we go.

The following excerpts from Nikolai Nikolayevich Alekseyev's article "The Russian Westernism" published in the N.A.Berdyayev-edited magazine *Put* (Path), No.15, in 1929 is an invitation to think over this problem together with the author and to acquaint oneself with one more brilliant representative of Russian emigration – a professor of the faculty of law of Prague University, author of numerous works on the theory of law (such as *Fundamentals of the philosophy of law, A theory of the state,* and other works).

This publication of fragments of N.Alekseyev's article introduces the reader to the nature of discussions specific to two rather similar ideological and political trends – the "Smenovekhovtsy" (a group of contributors to the post-revolutionary publication *Smena Vekh* – The milestones changed – and their followers – **Ed.**) and the "Eurasianists" in the 1920-30s. Nikolai Alekseyev belonged to the latter group. "Eurasianism" was a very interesting phenomenon in spiritual life of the Russian emigration which reflected to some extent the "recognition" of the Soviet regime by part of the emigration and its hopes for the regime's evolution. Yet many ideas shared by the "Eurasianists" seemed and still seem today rather debatable, especially when they "sink" to the level of mere politics and ideology. This fully applies to the article suggested. The attack on the Westernists is largely exaggerated in many respects; however, it does contain a rational kernel – the criticism of the "nonorganic" and mechanical character of the transplantation of Western patterns to Russian soil, of the imitative character of Russian culture, which manifested itself in ideological borrowings. But here one should not forget about the alleged "organicity" of the "Eurasian power's" development which no less mechanically and in a no less authoritarian manner restrained the cultural synthesis of East and West. Nevertheless it was precisely this "organicity" that the "Eurasianists" idealized.

Compiled and prepared for publication by Nikolai Omelchenko

The Russian Westernism

Nikolai Alekseyev (1879–1964)

It is not so easy to define the Russian Westernism as a cultural and ideological movement. On the one hand, the Russian Westernism has never been a unitary system, it has not had a doctrine or a catechism of its own. On the other hand, the West as such does not present itself as something homogeneous – one can talk about common principles of Western culture, but one shouldn't think that these principles manifested themselves in the same way in time and space. According to these manifestations, there has never been one West... As there has never been one West, there equally could never have been one Russian Westernism. On the contrary, the Russian Westernism reproduced and repeated the struggle between different Western principles and styles; but whereas in Europe it was a struggle between social, historical, and national forces which had organically appeared there, on Russian soil it was mainly a struggle between principles and theories which appealed to the "Europeanized," "intelligent" part of our society. Consequently, this narrowed considerably the "battlefield" in our country, but instead the struggle became much more concentrated and acute. Faith in doctrines confessed by separate groupings among the intelligentsia often replaced real interests...

At its very outset the Russian Westernism was under the exclusive influence of the German-dominated, militarized, absolutist Europe. It's not without reason that Herzen called Peter the Great "the first Russian German." The edifice of the state that he erected with such merciless obstinacy was designed first and foremost to stylistically resemble Prussia... The ideal soldier was a Prussian soldier. The new army, commanded almost exclusively by Germans, was fashioned after the German model. The Prussian style became dominant in the civil architecture of the Empire. The German influence has been the most significant factor in our history ever since. It was the beginning of an era of not only Germanization of Russia, but also of a direct rule of Germans which was especially perceptible under the heir of the first emperor. It was the beginning of the period about which Herzen wrote with bitternes, "Germans were on the throne and around the throne, Germans were foreign ministers, druggists and bakers, Germans were all around. German women occupied almost exclusively positions of empresses and midwives..." Just, though bitter, Herzen's words. "Having once become a German, it is extremely difficult to rid oneself of Germanism... One of the most remarkable Russian Germans who wanted to become Russian was Tsar Nikolai. He tried everything to become Russian – baptizing the Finns, flogging the Uniates, giving orders to build churches in the old Russian style and introducing legal proceedings in the Russian language where nobody understood it, etc... nevertheless he failed to become Russian, and this was manifest to such an extent that his populism took on a likeness to the *Deutschtum,* and even the Orthodoxy was professed in a Catholic manner..."

In fact, our entire state apparat was in the hands of foreigners, Germans, or at least persons ideologically "Germanized." A contemporary of Alexander I wrote in his diary: "Russia is the world's only specimen of a country whose diplomatic corps is made up mostly of foreigners. Far from all of them know our language and few of them have seen much

of Russia beyond St. Petersburg... This class of people is usually well educated, but their education is based on cosmopolitan principles. They know much, but feel nothing for Russia..."

So far we have thought too little about the fateful influence this sort of Russian Westernism has exercised on all of Russian history. If not for it, the whole style of the Russian state, the whole of its interior and foreign policy would have been entirely different...

The reactionary Westernism was not a theory but the state policy in our country. It can even be accused of having no ideological foundation, even of neglecting it, which deprives of an idea the entire official façade of the enormous edifice of the Russian Empire which, in order to have an ideology, was forced to cover itself rather artificially with Slavophile slogans, on the whole rather alien to it. It's noteworthy that the Russian Westernism found its ideological and theoretical stipulations not in reactionary Westernizing trends, but in those opposed to the Empire – in Russian liberalism and radicalism. As concerns liberalism, it played a tremendous part in the history of Russian Westernism. It's precisely the liberalism that provided an ideological justification and a theoretical stipulation for "Peter's cause." One can even say that the Russian historiosophy and philosophy of culture of the Westernism brand was largely based on various trends of Russian liberalism. However, despite the outstanding role played by it in the domain of culture, Russian liberalism carried in itself something artificial, something of a hothouse and insufficiently organic. While the reactionary-style Westernism managed to become a tremendously active force able to organize popular masses and to dominate the destinies of the nation for a long time, Russian liberalism has always been something abstract and unpracticable, incapable of implementation which entailed its utter fall in the revolutionary period.

The beginning of Russian liberalism can be traced back to Catherine the Great and Alexander's period of our history, however, it became full-fledged and aquired a face of its own only in the generations of the 1840s–70s. In this period there appeared a whole constellation of outstanding Russian Westernists "of various hues of liberal set of mind" among whom there may be mentioned I.S.Turgenev, M.N.Katkov of the early period of his activity when he dreamed about imposing British ways in our country and supplementing liberalism with conservatism, B.N.Chicherin, S.M.Solovyov, K.D.Kavelin and many others... But when later, in the "constitutional" period of our history our liberalism formed into a party, this unification took place on much more leftist, radical and socialist positions as compared with the views of our early liberals. Such was our Constitutional Democratic Party which failed to encompass either M.N.Katkov's Anglomania or B.N.Chicherin's economic liberalism – anything of what constitutes the essence of liberalism in its purest form. However, our constitutional democratic movement confessed in full the philosophy of culture and historiosophy formulated by our early liberalism. Therefore to define our liberal Westernism it is necessary to turn not to the new, out to the old representatives of Russian liberalism... According to its extremist formulations, Russian history is simply a *tabula rasa* covered with alien letters by alien forces; according to milder stipulations, it resembles Western history, but unlike the latter, all processes in it are slow, belated and devoid of colours...

Hence, in the Westernists' opinion, the way of revivifying the carrion is to move from the steppes to the sea. One of our most prominant historians of the Westernist trend, S.M.Solovyov, curiously tried to explain the backwardness of our historical existence by counterposing the steppes to the sea; hence his justification of "Peter's cause." Our history developed in the steppes, where the development of intellectual capacities is not encouraged. A Russian epic hero could encounter in the steppes nothing more than another non-spiritualized, "Asiatic" bodily force which could be countered by bodily strength alone. On the contrary, the powerful elemental force of the sea could be fought against "not otherwise than by means of knowledge and art..." Being of the Asiatic steppes, we were of necessity beyond the reach of "moral forces," the "European quality," and inevitably engrossed in the "Asiatic quantity" – thus spoke our Westernist, forgetting that quantity is the principle of the new Europe rather than of the more profound Asia which, as personified by its great religions, has served not quantity but quality...

> The tragic aspect of Russian history consists in that normal human life does not grow through the thickets of stagnation, and even reasonable borrowings turn into a caricature

Common to all our Westernists was faith in the panacean, educating power of human institutions, and liberalism turned this faith into a whole theory by formulating it in a "scientific" way. This feature found its classical expression in the polemics by the Russian liberal Westernists concerning Dostoyevsky's well-known speech at Pushkin's memorial session... A very special role in it was alotted to just that touching faith in the salutary power of a constitutional regime – the faith in which whole generations were brought up. Some visualized such a regime as an estate-representation government of the European type, others as something like the British constitutional monarchy, still others as a democratic republic of the French variety, *et cetera*. There were many nuances here, yet the principal thing remained unchanged – the conviction that introduction of a constitution was a cure-all for all Russian evils and the ultimate means of Europeanizing Russia...

In a word, the "spiritual path" along which the Russian people was to be led, was that of European humanism, i.e., a path of a more or less resolute affirmation of human personality which has nothing above it except itself. This protection of human personality *per se* was not a bad thing, but it was not only a question of this protection. One can read about personality in old Russian didactic books, the Slavophiles also tought about personality. The essential point of humanism was that it affirmed human personality as the supreme value, which was, of course, Westernism, but it shed no "spiritual light" on the topic. Essentially, it was the same thing the Russian radicals craved, only in homeopathic doses. The main drawback of this way to Russia's "humanization" was its insufficient consistency, its incomplete outspokenness. This is why the Russian radicals have always been in a more advantageous position than the liberals. Enlightenment must be carried out to the fullest. If there is no God – there must be a perfect atheism, if there is no soul – there must be a perfect materialism, if personality is asserted, it should be accomplished in a Bazarov style. If one does not like the Kremlin, it must be razed to the ground...

The general social and psychological atmosphere did not encourage the flourishing of liberalism in our country. It is difficult to find the right words to characterize the aversion

and hatred fostered in a certain part of the Russian intelligentsia under the influence of the Empire's political regime. These feelings came into being rather early – in the first quarter of the 19th century. Observers of that period note the alienation from the political and government system as such that was characteristic of the young people at the time. A particularly favourable source for this psychological disposition was the atmosphere in the Empire of Nikolai I when the philosophy of our radical Westernism was formulated for the first time. It was precisely then that the alienation from the official Russia (Herzen) and an "exclusively negative outlook on Russia, on the life, the world and literature" (K.Aksakov) reached its extreme forms... It's easy to understand how Chaadayev's pessimism was born in this atmosphere, as well as such characters of Russian emigrants as V.S.Pecherin's (V.S.Pecherin, 1807–85, was a Russian writer and thinker who embraced Catholicism and emigrated. – **Ed.**) The atmosphere did not favour creating parliaments, convocating a *Zemsky Sobor* (Estate Assembly) or engaging in limited improvements of *zemstvo* institutions – it was a question of unprecedented, unheard-of upheavals. Everything was to be destroyed, nothing spared! "Actually, which stone, which street should we spare? The one the Winter Palace is built of? Or that used to erect the Petropavlovskaya Fortress? Should we spare the Tsaritsin Lug where soldiers were daily punished with rods for a century and a half or Staraya Russa where they were flogged to death by the dozen?"...

The Russian revolutionary, the destroyer of the "vile Empire," was becoming a pan-European, international radical revolutionary. Ideologically this was achieved by bringing to an extreme all the basic principles of Western humanism. It was devoid of all that was constructive in it, and first of all, of its occidental, classical heritage which Western humanists could never have broken with. The Russian radicals were absolutely unable to grasp this historical link between humanism and its Greco-Roman form, with Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, the Hellenistic art and the Roman-law idea of personality. However, if you remove all that from humanism you will have nihilism which actually is a cult of the same human personality, deprived of its formative element. You will have Bazarov's, Pisarev's, Dobrolyubov's doctrines, and denial of Pushkin with all ensuing phenomena. At the same time, the cult of personality was carried to its ultimate maximum. "Human personality is now above history, above society, above all of humankind for me" – these words of Belinsky can be viewed as a classical prolegomenon to the history of Russian humanism... It's not for nothing that Dostoyevsky had his most humane Westernist, Ivan Karamazov, utter almost the same. From a historical point of view this mind set leads first of all to anarchism which was really shared by many Russian rebellious Westernists – Bakunin, Kropotkin and members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organization of the 1870s. Here our radicalism lapses into a quaint paradox – if personality is to be affirmed at whatever cost, all means are good for that purpose. Ivan Karamazov writes his legend of the Great Inquisitor.

As far as historiosophy is concerned, the Russian radical began to gradually discover in this country's history the meaning inaccessible to the liberal. He began to discern in it manifestations of the primeval, popular, anarchist-socialist element which was raging in Pugachev's, Razin's and other similar movements. He discovered a prototype of a truly perfect social system in the Russian peasant community, in the Russian lifestyle. For that reason a world-wide revolution was in his perception a process of russification and asianization of Europe rather than that of Europeanization of Russia... These were the moods which Plekhanov rather inventively termed "riotous Slavophilism." They were dominant among the radicals until the beginning of the 1880s when for the first time Russian radicalism began to acquire a purely Westernist character. This process was largely promoted by Marxism with whose help the Russian radicals broke away from the East and became real Westernists...

The problem of defining Russia's destinies in terms of Russian radicalism became at that point a very simple one. The principal question was to be answered – whether or not the Pax Russica had yet joined the capitalist forms of existence with all its immanent laws. The Russian radicals and revolutionaries of 1870s gave a negative answer... Such had been the situation until Plekhanov and his adherents resolutely changed their opinion on the matter and came to the conviction that Russia had already long ago entered the school of capitalism and that "history has issued us no charter of self-identity." Since that moment the radical Russian Westernism broke with the last remnants of Slavophile traditions and finally embarked on the Western path...

> How is it possible not to understand that an idea which has not been born with pains in the womb of national life will inevitably be covered with fictions and become a hollow "ideology"

Despite the fact that all varieties of Russian Westernism were extremely hostile towards each other, denied each other and fought against each other, there was some feature common to them all, some common ideological basis shared by them all... These common parcels of Russian Westernism can be reduced to the following basic points:

1. First of all – and formally – all Russian Westernists were epigons of European culture... The only difference consists merely in what should be understood by the "West" – the old Catholic-feudal and absolutist West or a bourgeois-democratic or proletarian-communist West.

2. From this recognition of European culture's priority there follows denial of the significance and value of other cultures, including Asiatic ones, as well of the specific character of Russian culture. Therefore one can say, to use Dostoyevsky's words, that all Russian Westernists saw in the Russian people nothing more than an "inert mass," which "impedes Russia's development towards a progressive and better future"... "And if it's impossible to change it organically, then this must be accomplished at least mechanically, i.e., one must make it obey once and for all."

3. Hence another feature common to all Russian Westernists – the faith in the priority power of institutions called upon to reeducate the "inert" people, and in the priority service to the "external truth" instead of the "internal truth," to social ideals and not personal ones... The dispute concerns only the character of these institutions, not the ability of the institutions, which "have no organic connections with ethic ideals," to be a prerequisite of social perfection.

4. And, finally, all Russian Westernists, regardless of differences between trends, equally failed to understand the practical tasks faced by the Russian state as an absolutely specific geographic, economic and cultural whole. They were all convinced that, for Russia to prosper, it was sufficient to adopt from outside foreign institutions with all the tasks inherent in them, transplant them to Russian soil and get them to perform their natural functions as they were expected to in their place of origin (for instance, parliamentarism as in England, socialism as in Europe, etc.)

It's impossible to avoid noting in conclusion that the Russian Westernism has, in the course of its development, completed and exhausted all its possible cycles: it first imitated the old Europe, then attempted to imitate the new Europe and, finally, finished by imitating the future Europe which does not yet exist in reality or exists only as an embryo.

THE FAR EAST AVIATION CORPORATION

offers
new international flights

. KHABAROVSK . ANCHORAGE . SAN FRANCISCO . KHABAROVSK

Weekly flights on IL-62 aircraft.
On Sundays flight SU-327 leaves from Khabarovsk for San Francisco with return flight SU-328 on Mondays.
Intermediate stop in Anchorage.

. KHABAROVSK . HARBIN . KHABAROVSK

Flight SU-815/SU-816 departs twice a week on Wednesday and Friday on TU-154 aircraft

. KHABAROVSK . SEOUL . KHABAROVSK

Flight SU-817/SU-818 from Khabarovsk to Seoul and back on TU-154 aircraft on Sundays

Taking advantage of our flights you will considerably economize your travelling time and expenses!

Complete information about these flights is available at any Aeroflot office; or call in Moscow 156-80-19, in Khabarovsk 38-56-98, 38-57-44

WE ARE WAITING FOR YOU!

For the first time in the USSR –
an Italian exhibition
of consumer goods

ITALIAN LIFE '91

Moscow, the Exhibition of
Economic Achievements of the USSR,
pavilion No. 4
October 14–21

© HOBOE BPEMЯ DESIGN

BELFIORI e VILLADEI

furniture for home and office

The Italian firm
Belfiori and Villadei
invites you to visit
our display
at the exhibition

ITALIAN LIFE '91

Our address in Italy:

"Belfiori e Villadei"
Via Porto Simone 2/A
00015 MONTEROTONDO (Roma) ITALIA
Fax 06/9004410 Tel. 06/9004410